

IC

STUDIEN ZUR INTERKULTURELLEN
GESCHICHTE DES CHRISTENTUMS

ETUDES D'HISTOIRE INTERCULTURELLE
DU CHRISTIANISME

STUDIES IN THE INTERCULTURAL
HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

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Ingemar Lindén

THE LAST TRUMP

**An historico-genetical study of some
important chapters in the making
and development of the
Seventh-day Adventist Church**

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Ingemar Lindén

The Last Trump

An historico-genetical study of some important
chapters in the making and development
of the Seventh-day Adventist Church



PETER LANG
Frankfurt am Main · Bern · Las Vegas



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To
CARL GIDLUND
Likeable Adventist administrator -
my first theological teacher

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FOREWORD

The study of particular American denominational families has been advanced both by those who are identified with a given tradition and by those who are outsiders to it. Each group contributes something important for the fullest understanding of the movement in question. There are some things about the history of such churches as the Adventist, Baptist, Catholic, Disciples, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, Orthodox, Pentecostal, and Presbyterian that insiders can best interpret, for they know from within the meaning of key concepts and important customs, and have a feel for the historical experiences that have given them meaning. There are other things about the history of a denomination that an outsider can best analyze, for such a scholar can approach the material with a certain disinterest, can ask questions which might not occur to someone within the movement, and can probe into controversial matters that an insider might unconsciously gloss over. The latter, however, can learn much from the former and can adopt something of the critical approach.

An important milestone in the study of Adventism was reached with the appearance in 1974 of *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, edited by Edwin S. Gaustad. In this important work, outsiders predominated in a symposium which cast new light on Adventist history. A remarkable bibliography was part of this study.

Much American religious history, like that which appears in *The Rise of Adventism*, has been and will continue to be written by Americans, for they have a special interest in the complex religious developments of their native land. But observers and scholars from other lands have made important contributions to the historical understanding of religion in America; one thinks, for example, of the Tocqueville, Bryce, Siegfried, Visser 't Hooft, and Myrdal. From their angles of vision, they have been able to perceive and interpret certain things more clearly than natives.

Dr. Ingemar Lindén of Sweden approaches the history of Adventism as an outsider in the latter sense. He has long been a student of this indigenous American religious movement, first visiting this country for serious archival study in 1967. He received his Th.D. at Uppsala University in 1971 for a study in Swedish of the history and development of Adventism in the United States and Sweden. Since then he has continued his researches in the United States on several other occasions, and now has written what is substantially a new book in English on the history of Adventism with particular attention to the role of Ellen G. White in the shaping of the tradition.

Lindén's work is based on primary sources, and probes freshly into many controversial points of Adventist history. He is also knowledgeable in the general field of American religious history and points to relationship between Adventism and the wider context. There are some very fascinating aspects in his study, such as his treatment of "Health-Adventism's Legacy to the World." Because Seventh-day Adventism has an intensely missionary spirit, it is now known in many countries. Hence this detailed book has importance not only for the American scene but also for those parts of the globe to which it has spread.

Robert T. Handy
Professor of Church History
Union Theological Seminary,
New York

THE AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

In 1971 this writer completed a 500 page dissertation in partial fulfillment for the Th.D. degree at Uppsala University. The specimen called "Biblicism-Apokalyptik-Utopi" with the subtitle "A history of the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in America and Scandinavia to about 1939" concentrated mainly on the Swedish scene or Swedish emigrants in America in reference to the above theme. At the public defence of the dissertation the examining board recommended the book to be translated into English. For some time the writer worked with that plan in mind. For several reasons, however, it was soon evident that the construction of a new and different book was a better alternative. The resources were pooled to create something of a handbook on the character of the international sabbatarian Adventism. To that end I applied for a grant from the Swedish Statens Humanistiska Forskningsrad for the required additional archive studies in the United States. That request was also granted. The Statens Humanistiska Forskningsrad has also granted means for making the publication of this comprehensive study possible. For this generosity I want to thank the foundation. Likewise I want to thank the Teologiska Fakulteten at Uppsala and the many delegates and staff represented on that faculty and in the Teologiska expeditionen for the payment of the typing of the manuscript in various versions. I am also indebted to the University Seventh-day Adventist Church at Loma Linda, California, for my part in the impressive lecture series on Adventism in the fall of 1973. In this way I could devote still more time to my archival research.

I now enter into the almost impossible assignment of thanking all those people, who have made contributions in one way or another during the long period of time which has been devoted to this task. Among those who merit special notice are my learned and respected teacher in church history, Professor Sven Göransson at Uppsala University. He has taught me the trade of writing so to speak. For the completion of the Last Trump the American well-known Professor at Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Robert T. Handy, has meant a great deal for the completion of this book. Dr. Handy, who is one of the foremost experts in this period, has kindly criticized the whole work and made many timely remarks. Especially for the first chapter Professor Conrad Wright, Professor of church history at Harvard, has presented new aspects on Millerism. And a special word of gratitude goes to Dr. W. J. Hollenweger, Professor of Mission, at the University of Birmingham, England. Hollenweger has taken the troubles of reading the whole manuscript in its draft version. Dr. Hollenweger has also recommended the book to be published in the series, Intercultural Studies of Church History.

The difficult chapter dealing with the medical and nutrititional questions has been checked by two Swedish well-known experts: Professor

Gunnar Blix, M.D., pioneer nutritionist at Uppsala University and the late Professor E. Jorpes, M.D., of the Karolinska Institut, Stockholm; but none has shown a greater interest in this chapter than the well-known bio-chemist, docent Henning Karström, Rimbo, Sweden.

Another group of specialists, whose services have been invaluable for this work, should not be forgotten, the many capable archivists and librarians. In particular I would like to thank the staff in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library and their colleagues in the Library of Congress. My thanks also go to the gracious and most knowledgeable librarians at Drew University, N.J. and to Dr. Earl Hilgert of McCormick University, Chicago. And in a very special way I want to thank Mrs. Doris K. Colby, the curator of the Jenks Collections at Aurora College, Aurora, Ill. Drs. M. C. Crouse and David Arthur at Aurora College have also made valuable suggestions. Rektor Ylmeri Mörnsten, Vingaker, Sweden, has made the helpful charts. Despite all suggestions from these experts, however, I alone am responsible for all mistakes in this work.

A separate paragraph must be reserved for my warm thanks to many officials in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Pastor Duncan Eva, former President of the Northern European Division of the Seventh-day Adventists, kindly recommended access to the inestimable archives in the Ellen G. White Publications at Washington D. C. The present world leader of the S. D. A. Church, Pastor Robert H. Pierson has also followed my work with interest. Pastor Odd Jordal, President of the Swedish Union, has always given evidence of a positive attitude to this assignment. And in particular my thanks go to Pastor Arthur L. White, famous descendent of the White family and extremely knowledgeable Secretary of the E. G. W. archives. Thanks to his positive attitude to my research I could study and check several hundreds of so called unreleased documents. Since the *Last Trump* is the first comprehensive history of the S. D. A. Church to be published by university printers, the positive attitude revealed by some Adventist leaders is the more gratifying. It is of some significance that I dedicate this book to Pastor Carl Gidlund. He has always encouraged theological studies and free research in ecclesiastical history.

INTRODUCTION

North America has proved to be a very fertile soil for new religions. This phenomenon can be explained on several grounds. Firstly, the United States has benefited greatly by its status as an unparalleled mass immigration country. Secondly, unrestricted religious freedom, a child of European Enlightenment and 16th century religious dissent, has promoted a plurality of religions. In fact, some of the optimistic immigrants came to America primarily for getting the privilege of unrestricted religious worship in the New World. Students of American history well know how this quest for religious freedom has left an indelible mark on the history of the United States, from the beginnings in the early 17th century, when the hardy Pilgrim Fathers first set foot in Massachusetts.

The endless stream of immigration and the mighty Westward Movement set the scene for one of history's most important melting pots of cultural ideas. To that process also belonged the formation of new religions. This force of unhampered experiments in the area of social, political and religious ideas reached its climax prior to the Civil War. A well-known American historian, Alice Felt Tyler, named this strident eruption of new sentiments *Freedom's Ferment*. This writer discerns no sharp line of demarcation between the secular social reform ideas and the religious threads in that multicoloured warp. This contention will be abundantly demonstrated in my discussion of Millerism, that mighty Ante-Bellum revival in New England.

The *Last Trump* tries to evaluate one remarkable and virile American religion, which was born in the midst of the furmoils in America prior to 1861; for in that year Sabbatarian Adventism took a definite step towards a centralized organization, to be completed two years later. Together with Mormonism, and to some extent even Pentecostalism, and certainly such groups as Christian Science and the Jehovah's Witnesses, Sabbatarian Adventism, not to be confused with any one of those groups listed here, has in time developed into one of the few world churches.

All serious students of Adventism are agreed that Adventism began in America with William Miller's apocalyptic movement. Hence, this volume commences with a fresh analysis of that revival, for the character of Millerism has left indelible marks on all present day Adventist churches. The second part deals with the crucial period from 1845 to 1863. In this chapter the reader is introduced to Adventism's most important leaders, Mrs. Ellen Gould Harmon-White and her husband, James White. It has, therefore, been somewhat of a problem to decide whether the chapter - the Young Ellen White - should be the third part or the second installment.

At any rate Ellen White, EGW for short, looms heavily in the rest of the work and the reason is obvious: only EGW holds the keys to a cor-

rect understanding of Adventism. This statement does not mean that all the other leaders are of no or little interest for our study. But her contribution is decisive, because she only was equipped with absolute authority as the group's charismatic founder, or a kind of Moses to stand between the Lord and the people, according to the teachings of the group. This most fascinating interplay between the leaders and the prophet, as the function was interpreted, constitutes one of the main themes in this book.

In so far as I can judge, as an "insider" of the movement, the problems I have selected are of primary importance for a real understanding of the making and development of Adventism.

With a definite purpose I have followed the method of letting the sources speak at a greater length here than I permit in other circumstances. For one thing the primary sources are difficult to get hold on, and it has been my intention to let the reader himself judge about the nature of the quotations. I have aimed hard at objectivity and feel a great respect for the dedicated people in the "Church of my Fathers."

Chapter One

THE ROOTS: THE MILLERITE MOVEMENT

- A re-evaluation -

I. Apocalypics in Ecclesiastical History

Students of church history are well aware of the recurrences of apocalyptic studies throughout the Christian era. Christianity itself developed out of excited Jewish hopes for a Messianic age and in the post-exilic period these hopes produced an impressive collection of literature (1). The book of Daniel with its description of world empires and the kingdom of God is perhaps the best known example of a canonical apocalypse. A prominent feature of the genre is its vision of beasts, horns, and mystical time periods, times intended to determine when God's eternal rule would begin. The book of Daniel contains the first appearance of these time schedules in Jewish canonical literature. There are no doubt some similarities between the speculations in the Avesta and those portrayed in Daniel, but the differences in contents are considerable. Daniel two gives the first vision in history of the glorious kingdom of God to be established in all its concrete sublimity after man has tapped all his resources towards building an ideal world. In contrast to for example Indian-Zarathustrian thinking the Semitic-Christian writers considered time as a linear component.

Early Christianity was nurtured on eschatology and apocalyptic (2). Not surprisingly, therefore, one of the Gospel writers described his contemporaries as being on tiptoe of expectation, wondering whether John the Baptist was the Messiah (3). The recent Dead Sea manuscript collection has greatly increased our knowledge of Jewish apocalyptic thought. And in the New Testament there is an ample number of passages suggesting that Paul and his converts especially expected the Parousia in their life-time (4); and the apostolic church as a whole lived in an atmosphere of Maranatha; they were ready to leave the world at any time. There are no direct references, however, to the Jewish apocalypses in the Pauline epistles, not even to Daniel. Instead we notice a shift of emphasis in Paul from apocalyptic speculation to Christian eschatology. At the same time one must not forget that both the book of Daniel and the Revelation belong to the collection of writings the Christian Church has accepted as a part of the authoritative books.

-
- (1) The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T. ed. by R. H. Charles 1913. Burkitt, F. C. Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. 1914. Ringgren H. Apokalyptik in RGG³, vol. I, pp. 86-90. Gäyler 1948.
 - (2) Kümmel 1953², Ibm 1964. Dahl in SBU, vol. I, 1948, pp-columns 89, 90, Ringgren, H. In RGG³, vol. 1, columns 463-466.
 - (3) Lk 3, 15. The background of the Jewish apocalyptic ideas at the time of Christ has been improved very much after the publication of the rich literature found in Kirbeth Qumran.
 - (4) This is evident in the early Pauline epistles, e. g. 1 Thess. 4:16-18.

When interpreted in a cautious and responsible way the biblical apocalyptic books well serve some basic needs of the Church.

Though there is some overlapping in the meanings of the terms apocalyptic and eschatology, there is also a considerable difference between them (4a). Apocalyptic has a slightly pejorative aura and suggests a tendency to speculation about the 'times and seasons' of God's final acts, especially as they are presented in Daniel and the Revelation of John, the Divine. These books have exerted a certain fascination over Christians of all sorts and conditions, and many have undertaken to make clear their mysteries. None, however, have succeeded in establishing the real date of the Last Day. All too frequently leaders of radical groups have armed themselves with interpretations of apocalyptic against the Establishment, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and time and again have branded popes and politicians as Antichrist. The very structure of the apocalyptic books explains why such attempts have been repeated so often during the centuries without any lasting disgrace to the new expositors. The apocalyptic symbols are timeless in their appeals to mankind, since they portray the eternal struggle between good and evil, until the Last Trump shall sound (5).

Eschatology has better overtones and in particular describes the work of trained theologians on the *eschata* or final events. It has to do with the categorical and final triumph of the Kingdom of God independently of calculations on an exact time for its realization. It takes in the whole Christian dispensation and considers final and absolute victory already ensured by the incarnation and life of Christ. It deals also with the nature of man and the meaning of the eternal life to be conferred on him at the resurrection, as for example Althaus and Holmstrom have shown (6).

This brief survey of apocalyptic movements in Church history can deal with only some of the more prominent examples prior to the nineteenth century, inasmuch as major emphasis must be concentrated on the period immediately before the spectacular emergence of the Millerite movement in the United States.

In the later medieval period apocalyptic interest was widespread, especially among some of the radical Catholic orders (7). Dominant among these were the Spiritual Franciscans and the Fraticelli. So heretical groups had no monopoly of apocalypics. Chiliastic ideas also gripped the imagination of the middle class - the burghers - not only the

less privileged, restive members of society like the weavers (8). All these groups, both clerical and secular representatives, indulged in liberal speculations on the identity of Antichrist and the "little horn" of Daniel (9).

With the Reformation of the sixteenth century came a revival of interest in apocalyptic interpretation. Luther and his followers identified Antichrist with the Papacy and believed that "the time of the end" was near (10). But the greatest interest of all appeared among the radicals of the Reformation. Millenarian concepts were sown freely among many unorganized, heterogenous groups and at times resulted in violent action, when enthusiasts attempted to inaugurate the millennium themselves (11). In times of political instability and war apocalyptic feelings generally ran at a high level. Just because of the violent political millenarians of the radical reformation, one must not forget the pious, quiet Christians in the unorganized third force in the Protestant Continental reformation. They expected the Day Dawn in an inoffensive way according to the promise in the Beatitudes.

The Thirty Years' War on the Continent also caused a great renewal of apocalyptic interpretation, which lived on a long time afterwards (11a).

After the Napoleonic wars intensive studies about the meaning of Daniel and the Revelation reached its highest mark in Europe and America. Expositors seem to have read their own interpretation of contemporary events into their sources with an almost cavalier contempt for historical reality. In Britain Puritan divines had long been captivated with prophecy and its interpretation (12). The downfall of the Fifth Monarchy, however, brought the literal understanding of the parousia into some disrepute and a new approach to the apocalyptic writings took its place best illustrated

(4a) For a handy summary of the two terms, see Widengren 1971, pp. 253f.

(5) Such handbooks are e.g. RGG³ SBU. For monographs, see Bultmann 1958, Brunner 1965, Kreck 1966², Kümmel 1953² Robinson 1962² Weiss 1900², Schweitzer 1913.

(6) Althaus 1961⁸, Holmström 1937.

(7) Reeves 1969.

(8) The faulty idea of the connection between the deprived classes and apocalypticism is a common tenet, see e.g. Cohn 1957. Apart from Reeves's study, see Grundmann 1961, Froom 1948, Ibm 1950.

(9) Reeves 1969, chs. 5-9. Froom 1950, pp. 896-898, 906-909. Froom 1948, e.g. pp. 55-57, 213-215, 226-229, 237-240, 307-309, 324, 330, 331, 336-337. Other groups that stigmatized the papacy as an antichristian system and revealed a definite interest in the apocalyptic writings were the Waldenses, the Wycliffites or the Lollards in England and the Hussites in Bohemia.

(10) Asendorf 1967. Landeen 1971, Bainton 1953. Froom 1948, chapters 12, 13.

(11) The term millenarian always implies the idea of a literal golden age sort of society on earth during the so called millennium. All Millerites thought so. But the SDA Church has always rejected that concept. Therefore they are not strictly speaking a millenarian group. The best known of these violent movements is Thomas Müntzer's futile effort at the peasants' revolt in 1524, and the later experiment in Münster, Westphalia in 1534. Cf. Bainton 1950, pp. 268-285, 378.

(11a) Sven Göransson 1956, pp. 44-99.

(12) The principal work is Ball 1975. Cf. Froom 1948, pp. 536-597.

in the writings of Daniel Whitby /1638-1726/, a Salisbury rector. Whitby put the parousia after the millennium in his so-called post-millennial theories, whereas the older interpreters had been putting Christ's epiphania at its beginning. This arrangement goes under the name of pre-millennialism. Whitby's interpretation agreed better with the optimistic views then prevailing that conditions were improving and that finally the whole world would be converted to Christianity. Whitby also taught that the Jews would return to their homeland, that the Papacy and the Turks would be defeated and that a great Pentecostal effusion would usher in the golden age (13).

The high point of this eschatological revival in Europe took the form of a series of conferences at Albury Park, the home of Henry Drummond, between 1826 and 1830. The six conclusions arrived at by the mainly Anglican participants show several striking similarities to the doctrines of the American Millerism. The conference stated these conclusions as follows:

1. The current Christian dispensation was to end cataclysmically both for the Church and State.
2. The Jews would be resettled in Palestine at the time when the apocalyptic vials of wrath were being poured out upon the churches.
3. Punitive judgement would fall chiefly on apostate Christians.
4. The millennium would follow this judgement.
5. The Second Advent would precede the millennium.
6. The 1260 "years" of Daniel and the Revelation were to be interpreted as running from the time of Justinian to the end of the French Revolution (14).

The most obvious differences between the Albury Park conclusions and those of Miller's concerned the role of the Jews. Miller paid no particular attention to them. His interpretation was America-orientated. Furthermore, Miller's date for the parousia was a much more determined terminus, that is comparable by the degree of disaster it caused its supporters with the experience of Edward Irving's unhappy stress on glossolalia in an England, that had no room for charismatic movements. As is well-known Irving was a notable minister in the Scottish Kirk, who became famous overnight for his captivating preaching style. While in London he was "caught up in the ferment of prophetic studies" (14a). Irving's downfall, however, did not kill millenarianism in England; it only caused a lasting disservice to the historic method in apocalypics. Interest survived in various parts of the country especially in Scotland; and John Nelson Darby's later dispensationalism preserved British pre-

(13) Tuveson 1968, pp. 33, 34. Sandeen 1970, p. 5. and esp. Froom 1948, pp. 651-655.

(14) Drummond, H. *Dialogues on Prophecy* 1828 a, pp. ii, iii.

(14a) Sandeen 1970, pp. 16, 17.

eminence in apocalyptic speculations (15). Darby became a rallying point for the literalists in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Miller's premillennialism went into eclipse after the discrediting of his predictions.

Before turning to the American scene a quick look must be directed to the Continent. Germany with its strong Pietist tradition was a likely place to produce apocalyptic interest (16), and, indeed, one need look no further than Johan Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), whose exhaustive commentary on the Revelation, *Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis* etc., 1740, contained almost one hundred pages only on methods of apocalyptic interpretation (17). Bengel's work is marked by a great interest in eschatology, though he differs from the general run of apocalypticists by not following the so-called year-day principle in the calculation of apocalyptic chronology (18). All the same, he concluded that the end of the world was to take place in 1836 (19). His anti-Catholic animus, deriving from Reformation antipathies, is obvious in comments on various texts. The work ran through many editions and was translated into several European languages including Swedish in 1800.

Bengel's followers carried the tradition on, none so prolifically as Magnus Friedrich Roos (1727-1803). Roos, who wrote some very widely read devotional books, running through fifteen editions in some Scandinavian languages and maintaining their popularity for almost a century, completed his, *Prüfung der Gegenwärtigen Zeit nach der Offenbarung Johannis*, in 1786. The American historian, Ernest R. Sandeen, mentions two centers in the world for apocalyptic studies: England and North America (20). The present writer would in addition to those two loci mention a third center of apocalyptic studies in the Pietistic circles in Germany. Another marginal remark to make in Sandeen's excellent opus major refers to his method. Sandeen was so eager to prove the similarities between apocalyptic thought in Britain and North America that he forgot to show the unique character of Millerism, where adventism and American revivalism and its reform ferment united. Thus in America perfectionism was added to the preaching of the Apocalypse.

(15) Sandeen 1970, pp. 59-80, 42.

(16) Johann Bengel, Friedrich Christoph Oetinger and Johann Hahn were the leading names of the Pietistic apocalyptic revival in Württemberg, Swabia and lower Saxony in the 18th century. A scholarly contribution on this school of thought is a diss. by Helga Rusche, Heidelberg.

(17) Bengel 1740.

(18) Froom 1946, pp. 297, 298. In 1829 Pastor J. E. E. Sander amplified the date to 1843 or 1847. This date was of course identical with Miller's calculation.

(19) Bengel 1740, Vorrede, IX, and pp. 659, 844-847.

(20) Roos' interpretations were translated into Swedish in 1797, 1802, 1810, 1827, 1831, 1847, 1849, 1851.

The so-called Advent Awakening of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century took place in the setting of an eschatological interest that had been handed down from the Colonial period (21). This interest concerned itself with more than a merely theoretical identification of the fascinating symbols of Daniel and the Revelation: the New World itself came into the picture (22) for America was the refuge of many who had fled the apocalyptically fore-shadowed persecutions of the Old World. For many thousands of distressed emigrants America became, in fact, a latter-day land of promise. Here the kingdom of God was to be realized. Included in this vision were the related ideals of far-reaching democratic rights, religious liberty, and cheap land.

To this must be added a strongly anti-Catholic feeling. This latter originated with the early Puritan settlers, who had interpreted Daniel and the Revelation in a militantly anti-Catholic fashion, which can well be illustrated from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (23). No Puritan was in any doubt as to the identity of the "mother of harlots" (24) and many included even Protestant state churches in the understanding (25). John Cotton (1584-1652), who advocated a Calvinistic Utopia of the elect, a kingdom of God with a constitution based on the laws of Moses, interpreted the beast of the 13th chapter of Revelation and the ten-horned monster of the 7th chapter of Daniel as the Roman Catholic Church (26). Roger Williams buttressed his ideas of religious freedom in Rhode Island on the apocalyptic writings of Scripture. Any who attempted to coerce the consciences of others he considered to be informed by the spirit of Antichrist, the Roman Catholic Church. He, too, understood that this Church was symbolized by the beast imagery of Revelation (27). There was, perhaps, an unusually great interest in apocalypics among the members of the Mather family. Increase Mather (1639-1723), who served as pastor of the Independents and president of Harvard (28), wrote no fewer than ten books on the subject. Also to him the Roman Church was the "mother of harlots" (29). Cotton Mather (1663-1728) concluded from his study of the prophecies that the end of the world was imminent, that Antichrist ruled the Catholic Church, and that the parousia would bring its destruction (30).

- (21) Froom 1946, the bibl. pp. 758-789. F's four volume work on prophetic interpretation is generally recognized as a comparatively exact reference work, despite its markedly apologetical character. Cf. Sandeen 1970, pp. 288, 289. Rowe 1974, p. 305.
- (22) Froom 1946, pp. 66, 108, 203, 211, 353. Tuveson 1968.
- (23) *The Faerie Queene*, bk. I, Ed. by H. M. Percival. Lond. 1951.
- (24) Apoc. 17:1-5.
- (25) Froom 1946, pp. 211, 342, 350, 353, 354, 357, 358 et passim.
- (26) *Ibm*, p. 41. Cf also Ball 1975, pp. 15-193.
- (27) *Ibm*, p. 49.
- (28) *Ibm*, p. 126.
- (29) *Ibm*, 127-129.
- (30) *Ibm*, pp. 147-155.

Perhaps colonial views on these matters can best be summed up in the confession of faith adopted by the Puritan churches of Massachusetts in 1680:

"There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ, nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be Head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and all that is called God, whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (31).

Many of these apocalypticists belonged to the influential classes in the colonies and later United States, a fact which also was reflected in the position of their counterparts in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century (32). Anti-catholic feelings and an ardent faith in the future glory of the new nation - the millennial dream - became an essential part of American patriotic feeling. So it is not surprising to find Joseph Dudley (1647-1720), governor of Massachusetts and a state judge, producing expositions of apocalyptic symbols and his son, Paul Dudley, in 1750 endowed a yearly lecture series devoted to the exposition of "prophecy." Dudley directed:

"The third Lecture to be, for the detecting, and convicting and exposing the Idolotry of the Romish Church, their Tyranny, Usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal Errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickedness in their high places, and finally that the Church of Rome is the mystical Babylon, that Man of Sin, That apostate Church spoken of in the New Testament" (33).

Such sentiments took deep roots in the thinking of early Americans and resulted in the new nation being "Protestant."

When the state of religious thought in early nineteenth century America just prior to William Miller's appearance as a public speaker on apocalyptic subjects is examined, it can be fairly described in the apt remark of a recent historian that "America was drunk on the millennium" (34). That this was so is eloquently proven by the many works produced by non-Millerite writers and embodied in the extensive collection issued by Miller's adherents, the so-called Second Advent Library (35). Ever since the days of the Great Awakening of 1740 prominent evangelists had been making increasing use of prophetic expositions as a means of rousing sinners from carnal slumber and setting them to work on the expansion of "the kingdom" which was popularly equated with

- (31) *Ibm*, p. 111.
- (32) *Ibm*, pp. 78-259, 263-532. Sandeen 1970, chs. I-II.
- (33) Froom 1946, p. 175.
- (34) Sandeen 1970, p. 42.
- (35) A good share of the rare material is located in Aurora Coll. Aurora, Ill.

the growth of the nation (36). Nowhere else in the world did apocalyptic preaching stand a better chance of stirring up an enthusiastic response than in North America.

II. Reform and Revivalism in America

a. American Ante-Bellum Reform

In order to grasp the complexity of Millerism the student must have a fairly good knowledge of the American society before the Civil War. This period, generally known as the Jacksonian Era, saw many kinds of reform projects. They all aimed at transforming the young republic into an ideal state (37). Its proponents formed an enlightened elitist group, who believed that reform ideas which could be nothing more than pipe-dreams elsewhere, could be realized in the peculiar circumstances obtaining in America. Here idealists and visionaries had a relatively free hand, unhampered by the restricting influence of a long-established, settled society such as existed everywhere in the Old World. In the United States the people enjoyed full political and religious freedom. Here in the "wilderness" of America's empty spaces utopian dreamers could find refuge, and the enlargement of the scope of democracy encouraged the spread of reform to the lowest classes and upwards. Revival preaching and social and political reform went hand in hand (38). Utopias simply mushroomed in pre-civil War America.

The "Father of religious sociology", Ernst Troeltsch, had it that American religious utopias took their birth from the thinking radical wing of the sixteenth century Reformation. This is only partly true, however, for many 19th century reform groups were much more indebted to later continental influences and still more so to indigenous ideas. Radical reformers in America went in for many socio-economic or Christian-communistic experiments (39). These men claimed that nothing could prevent their plans from becoming a reality in the near future (40).

Significantly most of these promoters of utopias had no faith in gradual, constitutional reform as a means to their end. Many were convinced that revolution was essential and worked for quick results. The radical attitude to which category Millerism belonged can only be described as "immediatism" (41). Perhaps this was not to be wondered at

(36) Cf. Tuveson 1968.

(37) Cole 1966, pp. 108, 117, 123, 127. Smith 1965, pp. 114-237, esp. chapter X. Schlesinger Jr. 1945, pp. 8 onwards. Nye-Morpurgo 1955, p. 369.

(38) Tyler 1962, Jerome L. Clark 1968a.

(39) Bestor 1950, p. 5.

(40) Ibm 1950, p. 14.

when reforming conventions in the America of the 1840's bore the character given them by Emerson:

"If the assembly was disorderly, it was picturesque. Madme, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-Outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, and philosophers all came successively to the top and seized their moment, if not their hour, wherein to chide, or pray, or preach, or protest" (42).

Though widely different, they all worked zealously at hastening the millennium. The reforming zeal of the period found expression in various ways, most notably in crusades for temperance, dietetic and health reforms, campaigning for women's rights, educational reforms, improvements in hospitals for the treatment of the mentally sick, penal reforms attempts at the organization of labour unions, and a move for promoting better understanding among churches; other items were the promotion of pacifism, the improvement of women's dress, poor law reforms, and above all in the abolition of slavery. This immense spectrum of reform ideas was a portent of the millennium and carried marked religious and apocalyptic overtones. Perhaps the most divisive of all these issues was that for improving the lot of the negro. In this matter every one had to take a side. And in the midst of all these reform efforts arose the Millerite movement.

Of special importance to this study are the social activities of revival leaders. The most influential evangelist of the Jackson era, Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875), combined an interest in social reform with his preaching of spiritual salvation (43). Nor was Finney unique in this respect (44), though secular historians generally have overlooked the considerable reform drive exerted by evangelical leaders. For Finney like Horace Greeley, the well-known journalist, took a definite interest in almost every reform then being promoted, and Finney's perfectionist ideal was typical of the outlook of several prominent ministers in the period leading up to the Civil War (45). This outlook has been called the theological dimension of Jackson's democratic program. Methodists, too, and the nascent Holiness movement were deeply concerned about the rights of the common man (46). It can, in fact, safely be said that many evangelists and church leaders acted, like an official pressure group on the political parties.

(41) Bestor 1950, p. 14.

(42) The Dial, III, July 1842, p. 101.

(43) Smith 1965, chapter VII, Finney 1835, 1876.

(44) Cf note 37.

(45) Jerome L. Clark, 1968, p. 13.

(46) Lindén 1971, p. 53.

Biblicism - the principle that the Bible is to be considered wholly homogenous and that any passage can be used to clarify the significance of any other irrespective of context - flourished in backwood utopian settlements cheek by jowl with Christian communism, Spiritualism, and radical views on the emancipation of women (47). In his own way every member of these petty societies was working for perfection, for the creation of leaven-laden petty heavens on earth (48).

In the first half of the nineteenth century apocalyptic speculations were rife in several of these religious utopias. Of these, one of the most interesting was the Shakers with whom some of the more radical Millerites made common cause after the collapse of their own movement (49). The founder of the Shakers was a certain Ann Lee who had been born in Manchester. Very early in life Ann had manifested an abnormal hostility to the sexual act, and the conviction that sex was evil persisted throughout the whole history of the sect. Celibacy became, in fact, a characteristic doctrine, but the most important Shaker tenet was not hostility to sex but its dualistic concept of God (49a). Christ was the male element of the deity, Ann Lee the female. Not surprisingly, Shakers repudiated the orthodox doctrine of the trinity. Shakers like Mormons and other later American sects claimed to be the remnant of the true church on earth, the "Church of the Last Dispensation." They were Adventist in outlook, though not in the manner of American Evangelical Protestantism. Their most important publication, the so-called Shaker Bible of 1808, sets out their views of the advent very definitely. Its alternative title is in fact *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing*. Shakers had definite ideas, too, about spiritual gifts or the renewal of the charisma of the apostolic church. They had prophets and seers of visions almost in every one of their churches, and because of this gift of prophecy they could appeal to direct inspiration. This led to messages from heaven, as they viewed it, superseding biblical authority on occasion and in some respects they could be considered spiritualists. Shakerism stands forth as a good example of socio-religious utopia.

Their notions about the absolute degree of inspiration for the prophets can be aptly seen in the introduction of the handwritten so called holy book of the Second Shaker Family. It begins:

(47) But also generally speaking a literal understanding of the Bible prevailed among most churches.

(48) Holloway 1951.

(49) Lindén 1971, p. 71. Rufus Bishop's Diary, pp. 268-275. NPLA, New York City. See also Cross 1965, pp. 310-311, Tyler 1962, p. 149.

(49a) Andrews 1963, pp. 5-101.

"The Word of the Holy and Eternal God of Heaven. Written by Inspiration.

Thus saith the Holy and Eternal One: Once more will I, the Great and Eternal one, condescend to sound forth my holy and Eternal word, and, through an instrument of human clay, make known my mind and will unto whom I have chosen" (50).

Already this tiny extract reveals the impact of the Bible on the style of the Shaker prophets. A similar conviction is manifested in the handwritten testimonies of the Shaker Bishop Rufus of New Lebanon commune (51). Possibly it was Shaker certainty and their striving at absolute perfection as the remnant church that attracted a considerable number of disappointed Millerites.

Dr. David Leslie Rowe has published a dissertation on the Millerite movement in the State of New York (52). This writer also observed similarities between Millerism and Ann Lee's ideas of apocalypticism. Indeed, he went so far as to seeing in Shakerism "a paradigm for the later Millerite movement" (52a). To be sure one cannot deny some striking similarities between the two groups. But Millerism was revivalistic.

In another connection we have noticed how there was a relation between the Pietist holiness revival in Germany and the study of apocalypticism (53). This Pietist ferment spread to the New World, where it took on a peculiar character. A leading figure among this type of utopian prophets was the German pietist, George Rapp (1757-1847). Persecution drove the Rappites to America in the first decade of the nineteenth century (54). Like Ann Lee, Rapp taught a sort of dualism. The Creator and Adam both had dual natures. Adam's dissatisfaction with his dualism precipitated the Fall with the result that his body lost its female nature. Rapp believed in celibacy though in a rather lenient way. The Rappites settled first in Pennsylvania and moved to Indiana after 1815, where they flourished as thrifty, successful farmers in closed communities (55).

Rappites like other members of "the church in the wilderness" claimed the gift of prophecy, their chief prophet being "Father Rapp." Not surprisingly he considered his movement to be a return to the

(50) The Word of the Holy & Eternal God of Heaven, Second Family-Wisdom's Valley, Sept. 8, 1844. Shaker MSS, manuscript dep. NPLA, New York, City.

(51) Words Written by the hand of the Lord - for Br. Rufus - copied from the original ball, March 31st., 1842, New Lebanon Chapter. Shaker manuscripts, Rare Book Coll., NPLA, New York City.

(52) Rowe 1974.

(52a) Ibid., pp. 51-55.

(53) Supra p. 21.

(54) Jerome L. Clark 1968a, pp. 141-158

(55) Ibid.

primitive Church and his followers to be included in the mystic 144,000 of the Apocalypse who were "not defiled with women" (56), hence the celibacy ruling. Rapp expected like a good adventist to be alive at the return of Christ (57).

Other utopian groups showed even stronger resemblances to some Adventist groups particularly the communes at Amana and Ephrata, which had originated in the eighteenth century. Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock had founded a sect in Germany which was to become the Amana community and whose distinguishing belief was the continuity of spiritual revelation. God communicated with men through the medium of chosen instruments, the *Werkzeuge*, whose messages were recorded by a *Schreiber* in bulky manuscripts and accorded equal status with the Bible. Barbara Heinemann served as such a prophet or *Werkzeuge* for several decades from 1818 except for a period of marriage and functioned in the Amana group on a small scale as Mrs. Ellen G. White did on a large scale among the Sabbatarian Adventists (58). The Amana community shared the practice common among many minor sects in Jacksonian America such as foot-washing before celebrating the Lord's Supper (59). The Amana community near Buffalo in Erie County, New York, was communistic in organization.

The Ephrata community was strongly biblicistic and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1724. A year after William Miller began his apocalyptic preaching, in 1832, a little "remnant" of Ephrataists still lived in that place. On Biblical authority they used wooden pins in house construction instead of nails and wood for most utensils. On the same grounds they practised baptism by immersion and the observance of the seventh day as the weekly sabbath (60). Some of them were also vegetarians. Not surprisingly, therefore, Jerome L. Clark, an Adventist historian, has observed that this community was "more closely akin to the Seventh-day Adventists than any other group" (61). What makes the resemblance even more striking is sharing of belief in pacifism, conditional immortality and a repudiation of belief in eternal punishment, and original sin (62). A part of the Ephrata society became Sabbatarian after 1814 (63).

(56) *Ibm.* Cf. Rev. 14, 4.

(57) Jerome L. Clark, 1968a, p. 145.

(58) Jerome L. Clark, 1968a, pp. 156, 157. "Father" Rapp also claimed to be a visionary or a prophet. *Ibm.*, p. 148.

(59) Jerome L. Clark, 1968a, p. 164.

(60) *Ibm.*

(61) Jerome L. Clark, 1968a, p. 168. Cf. Lindén 1971, p. 70.

(62) Tyler 1962, pp. 111-115. Holloway 1951, pp. 44, 52. Jerome L. Clark 1968a, pp. 172-175.

(63) Jerome L. Clark 1968a, p. 173. Tyler 1962, p. 111. The Ephrataists believed in conditional immortality or in "soul sleep."

Many others of the prolific number of backwood sects in pre-Civil War America manifested similarities to Millerism and Adventism. Though there were considerable differences among them, their importance lies in their influence on Millerism and its later development. The type of influence is to be found on the ideological side, however, and not in matters pertaining to methods and revival "measures."

During the formative period of the Adventist revival, deism, the religious side of the European Enlightenment, was making its influence felt among the lower classes in America. Deism originated in England where it numbered John Locke and Isaac Newton among its proponents. It was especially strong in France and expressed itself in the works of Bayle, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Diderot. Deists held that the truths of religion were fundamentally threefold: the existence of God, immortality, and the importance of practical religion. The works of Thomas Paine, especially *The Age of Reason*, affected a great many Americans, to some extent even the lower strata in society. American evangelical literalists, regarded the *Age of Reason* with horror because of its denial of the chief articles of the faith. Deism was at opposite poles from literalism and revivalism and constituted the faith of the enlightened middle classes and statesmen from the time of Thomas Jefferson (64).

Two writers who cannot be omitted from the discussion of the Millerite revival are David Ludlum (65), who has made a special study of the cultural climate in Vermont in the time of Miller, and Whitney R. Cross (66), who has carefully examined the social and religious character of upstate New York, the "Burned-over District." Cross collected an impressive amount of reliable sources in his study; he dealt with both the economic and the cultural forces at work in an area that had been thoroughly thrashed by many different revival campaigns. The only apparent weakness in this classical study was his method: separating the economic forces from the cultural influences. Ludlum looks upon Miller's apocalypticism as a first reaction to the economic crisis of 1837 (67), when the national bank collapsed and caused great distress especially to ruined industrial workers. This approach has even before, e. g. with Harkness, been a favorite aspect among sociologists, who have been dealing with Miller's spectacular movement (68). Ludlum advocated the thesis that Millerism offered a heavenly Utopia as compensation to the victims of the crash. Sabbatarianism, vegetarianism, and pacifism among the widespread backwoods communities of Vermont are contended to have been perpetuated in the Sabbatarian Adventist congregations (69). These suggestions are only partly true.

(64) Sweet 1952, p. 290. SWTP 1946. Morais 1943.

(65) Ludlum 1939.

(66) Cross 1965, first printed in 1950.

(67) Ludlum 1939, pp. 70, 105, 110.

(68) Harkness 1927.

(69) Ludlum 1939, p. 261.

Rowe's recent study of Millerism in essential ways negates Ludlum's thesis (69a). Millerism, according to Rowe, cannot be understood solely in economic and sociological terms. In the first place Millerism began several years before 1837, and its later success cannot at all be explained purely on economic grounds (70). The very fact that large segments of America's Christians were influenced by Millerism can therefore not be accounted for on Ludlum's suggestions. If anything, modern Adventism is not identical with the incipient phase of Miller's movement. But such observations do not in any way prove the sociological study of religious movements to be pointless or of little significance. When combined with the historical-theological methods, the socio-economical studies are of course valuable.

A most fruitful observation Cross made was his emphasis on the heterodox tendency among Christians in the so-called Burned-over District; religion in these places was ultraistic. Cross defines this term as follows:

"The stage of religious emotionalism immediately preceding heterodoxy... An amorphous thing in an intellectual sense, it can scarcely be considered a system of belief. It is better described as a combination of activities, personalities, and attitudes creating a condition of society which could foster experimental doctrines (71).

But, Cross did not analyse Millerism to the extent that he could demonstrate the changes in its short duration.

b. American Revivalism

It is fairly obvious that Millerism shared many ideas rampant in the small communitive groups of ante-bellum America. But there was more to Adventism than a hotch-potch of reform and apocalyptic. Miller's preaching was also devotional and revivalistic, and light on this aspect

(69a) Rowe 1974, pp. 51, 52.

(70) There is no consensus among the scholars on this point. Timothy L. Smith admits the importance of depressions and political unrest for the rise of revivals. Cf. Timothy L. Smith 1965, pp. 63-65. McLoughlin, on the other hand, states that neither wars, nor economical depressions have ever produced revivals *per se*; a spiritual awakening is always the result of a "particular combination of men and events." Cf. McLoughlin 1959, pp. 6-7. In the view of the present writer social upheavals can increase the impact of a revival, but never cause it as such.

(71) Cross 1965, pp. 3, 5

can be derived from a brief look at some of the general features of American evangelical Protestantism. American revivalism harked back to the Colonial period and should be considered "the Americanization of organized Christianity... the gradual adoption of new and untried ways of meeting peculiar American needs" (72). This happened in spite of the revivalism of certain left-wing German groups and English nonconformists (73). It was the Calvinist, Jonathan Edwards, who really inaugurated the emotional character of American religion, and his English Methodist contemporary, George Whitefield, deserves mention too (74). Revivalism engendered a deeper feeling for democracy particularly among the Baptists and Methodists (75); indeed, it brought religion to the common man (76).

When mass immigration from Europe into the United States brought about the settlement of the uncultivated frontiers of the New World revivalism came into its own. To reach the unchurched in the wilderness posed the denominations with a challenge that could only be met by new methods, which were developed most successfully by the Baptists and Methodists. Methodist circuit riders and Baptist laymen who visited settlers in the wilds were the most welcome evangelists on the frontiers (77). Their racy style presented religion so objectively that their hearers could almost see the pinnacles of Zion and feel the scorch of hell (78). And it was not long before their resourcefulness discovered the advantages of camp-meetings and protracted meetings.

Camp-meetings in quiet primitive country under the open sky was just what was needed. They attracted expectant thousands to highly devotional and revivalist meetings that went on from morning to night for days on end. They also provided an exciting break to the lonely monotony of pioneer life, not only by way of religious excitement but also socially (79). The first definitely planned camp-meeting took place in Logan county, Kentucky, in 1800 (80) and as a result of the Great Revival of that year, camp-meetings increased rapidly. Twenty years later the Methodists alone were organizing about a thousand of them every year (81).

There was soon the problem of extremism to contend with, however, and the excesses that characterized the inter-denominational camp-meeting

(72) Mode 1923, pp. 45, 50, as in Sweet 1944, p. 24.

(73) Sweet 1944, p. 25.

(74) *Ibm*, pp. 30-34, 71-85.

(75) *Ibm*, ch. 2.

(76) *Ibm*, ch. 5.

(77) Sweet 1952, pp. 110-119.

(78) Johnson 1955, ch. 9. Weisberger 1966.

(79) Johnson 1955, pp. 176, 208-228.

(80) Sweet 1944, p. 122.

(81) Johnson 1955, p. 85.

at Cane Ridge, Bourbon Country, in August 1801 proved to be a turning point. Some three thousand reacted to mass excitement by "falling" to the ground (82). Falling to the ground under what was called the power of God was considered proof of genuine conversion, and there were other 'tokens' of divine activity too. The well-known Methodist camp-meeting evangelist Peter Cartwright even admits that at times it was amusing to see the fine bonnets, caps, and combs of respectable men and women flying for exultation. Others jerked all over their bodies, rolled in the mud in their Sunday best, were flung into the "dancing exercise" or barked like mad dogs when the Spirit came upon them (83). Such manifestations led to Presbyterian abandonment of the camp-meeting, but Methodists and Baptists, and much later, Millerites, continued with them, though all learned their lesson from the excesses of Cane Ridge. On the positive side it must be recognized that these gatherings did much to evangelize the frontiersmen, improve their way of life, and increase the converts to the churches who conducted the meetings (84).

Protracted meetings - series of revival sessions - on the other hand were held in urban areas and lasted for several days, usually three or four, but in rare cases up to thirty-three. Several meetings on the first day acted as the first assault on the hearers and these were followed up by special meetings for the convinced ones, who were also ministered to in their homes by visitations (85).

While extant statistics cannot be quoted to show the effect of early nineteenth century revivalism in America, it seems to have been considerable. During the first five months of 1831 some 50,000 are said to have been converted. Between 1800 and 1830 Congregational membership doubled, Baptists trebled, even Presbyterians doubled. But the Methodists claimed to have grown by 700 per cent (86). And, a vital factor in this religious revival was millenarian expectation (87).

During the 1830's revivals changed in character. After 1830 the object of revival was no longer the salvation of the individual only; it became nothing less than working in organized fashion for the salvation of the whole world (88). If enough converts could be persuaded to live as they should and to work for reform, the world could become some kind of Eden. The most representative proponent of this ultimate goal was Charles Grandison Finney, a methodical lawyer turned Presbyterian

(82) Johnson 1955, pp. 60-65.

(83) *Ibm*, p. 60.

(84) Johnson 1955, ch. 4-6. Weisberger 1966, ch. 2, and particularly, McLoughlin in RA 1974, ch. 8.

(85) Cole 1966, pp. 76-82.

(86) *Ibm*, p. 77.

(87) Sandeen 1970, pp. 42-58.

(88) Cole 1966, p. 77.

preacher, and somewhat later a Congregationalist (89). Finney combined in fact dynamic revivalism with a whole plethora of social reforms (90).

Finney's preaching laid stress on sanctification - perfectionism - which was strikingly like the Methodist emphasis. These two sources of perfectionist ideology later merged to a form the holiness sentiment of many denominations and sects during the middle and end of the last century in America. Conversion in Finney's theology was merely the first step in Christian development; there was also the practical, individual path to follow. While God theoretically effected the sanctifying process, lack of human co-operation would nullify the entire transformation (91).

The methods Finney employed were called new measures, and much of his success he attributed to their use. The new measures required

1. the use of simple language in sermons and a familiar mode of address to the hearers;
2. a strongly emotional appeal to large audiences so as to produce the desired effect on unconverted hearers;
3. praying for selected persons in the auditory by name;
4. full co-operation from the committed in the running of campaigns. This co-operation took the form of organization into prayer groups - holy bands - whose duty was full assistance in the struggle to "win souls" for God.
5. The reservation of special areas in the campaign hall where those who responded to the stimulus of preaching could be worked on further in private interviews (92).

(89) Cole 1966, pp. 81, 82.

(90) *Ibm*, p. 77.

(91) Finney 1835.

(92) *Ibm*, pp. 250-275.

III. William Miller's Apocalyptic Revival

a. From Free Thinker to Revival Preacher

William Miller was born at Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1782 (1). His father had served in the Revolutionary War as a captain in the New York State Militia (2), and later took to farming at Low Hampton, Washington County, New York, not far from the Vermont border (3). The family was poor, but managed to send William, the eldest of sixteen children, to a public school at the age of nine, where he spent the winter months of five years acquiring the rudiments of education (4). The boy came into early contact with American revivalism of the Baptist type as the Millers offered hospitality to travelling evangelists, who held meetings there while they were refreshing themselves between campaigns. Miller's mother piously brought her children up "in the fear of the Lord," though Miller did not experience the standard type of emotional, personal conversion in his early years (5).

Miller's intelligence came to the notice of several people of some cultural standing, which led to opportunities for him to widen his learning through access to private libraries. Two neighbors of standing, Matthew Lyon, congressional representative of Vermont, and James Witherill, a judge, allowed him free access to their books. Through contact with Lyon and Witherill Miller was initiated into the more cultured circles of American officialdom (6).

Miller certainly read widely, but without expert direction, and grew into one of America's many self-taught men. His acquaintance with imaginative fiction seems to have been restricted to Robinson Crusoe and a novel by Robert Boyle (7), but his interest in history was absorbing, particularly in ancient history. This latter was to stand him in good stead when Daniel's prophecies came to occupy his mind (8). To a lesser degree

(1) Miller genealogy, Jenks' Memorial Coll. of Adventual Materials, Aurora Coll., Aurora, Ill.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Miller 1842, p. 8 Cf. Cross 1965, p. 288.

(5) Miller 1842, pp. 7-10.

(6) Ibid, p. 7.

(7) Miller 1842, p. 7.

(8) This historical knowledge was a prerequisite in all his apocalyptic expositions e.g. Miller 1836, Miller 1842.

philosophy commanded his interest, and he refers to the works of Voltaire, Volney and particularly Thomas Paine (9).

In due course Miller became a Freemason and a member of a literary society (10). By now he was responding to the lure of the free-thinking world and followed the fashion of the times in becoming a deist. This development may have freed young Miller from the unpopular shackles of a pietist home, and served as a passport into the secular society. From 1809 to 1812 he led the life of a public spirited, highly respected citizen on a local level and became the official representative of his rural district. He served both as constable and justice of the peace, and was later appointed sheriff and lieutenant in the Vermont State Militia (11). These functions were of considerable help to him in his later career as a lecturing evangelist.

Miller joined the Democratic party and lived like any Yankee Yorker of the times (12). There was no indication as yet that the conservative-minded William Miller was destined to become the highly controversial preacher of doom in the 1840's. His mind appears to have been stable and he lived a normal life, partaking of the pleasures this life could offer a man in his circumstances (13).

It was the war of 1812-1814 that brought about a radical change in Miller's thinking. He served as a captain in the American army and was deeply affected by the distress that he saw (14). David Rowe has shown most convincingly, however, that strong feelings of guilt plagued Miller, even before the outbreak of the war in 1812 (14a). In the army he was forced to think more seriously about the fundamental problems of life and revived memories of his religious upbringing. From a psychological point of view it is reasonable to assume that the abundant impressions from the revival sessions in his early life at this time came to the open and changed the

(9) Miller 1842, p. 8.

William Warren Sweet has demonstrated how deism spread from the upper classes to the masses in the United States, mainly by the study or influence of Thomas Paine's work, *Age of Reason*. This book was offensive to all Christians of the literalist kind, because it contended that the sacred writings were full with mistakes. Likewise Paine denied the deity of Christ and the satisfactio vicaria. Sweet 1952, p. 290. SWTP 1946, passim.

(10) Cross 1965, p. 288. Froom 1954, pp. 456-457.

(11) Bliss 1853, p. 27.

(12) Cross 1965, p. 290.

(13) Miller 1845, p. 4. Bliss 1853, p. 65. In Low Hampton M. belonged to the Particular Baptists.

(14) Miller 1842. Bliss 1853, pp. 70, 71.

(14a) Rowe 1974, pp. 22-25.

structure of his mind. During the war Miller experienced his conversion crisis and shortly afterwards he joined the Calvinistic Baptists (15).

Not long after his conversion, one of Miller's deist friends challenged him to produce satisfactory answers to a series of questions, which led him to a close study of the Bible for the answers. Miller's financial situation was sufficiently sound to allow him to devote two years to his investigation, which in turn led to his becoming one of America's many lay theologians. His special interest was in the interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism and chronology, with the purpose of unrevelling the prophecies with the aid of self-devised hermeneutical rules of the Bible about the last things. According to his optimistic view any problem in the Bible could be solved as soon as two references, one in the Old Testament and one in the New Testament could be produced to "prove" the assumptions. Miller explained to a friend in 1831:

"I will give you a good rule by which you may be established.
1st You must believe the Word of God. 2nd you must find two Witnesses /on plain texts/ in that word to make you, or to cause you, to believe the Doctrine or principle laid down. You must not draw any inference, until you bring two positive witnesses to the point, and be sure you get one in the old & one in the new testament - as for instance, you want to know whether Christ is God & his Divinity - read Isaiah 9-6 1st John 5.20. or do you want to establish the principle of the new birth. Psalm 67. 5 and 6 verses John 3.3.4 or do you want to prove our justification, by the righteousness of Christ, see Isaiah 54.17. or Jeremiah 23.6&33.16 - see also /sic/ Rom.3.22... after you have positive proof it is easy then to reconcile the whole word of God, because you have established your posts and pillars" (16).

After 1833 Miller published his hermeneutical "rules" in several minor works (17). It is extremely important to grasp this point about his understanding of the Scriptures. To Miller the whole Bible, whether in the Old or in the New Testament was one inseparable unit. Everything was inspired in the same way as the infallible word of God. This fundamentalistic view of the Bible is the pillar of his apocalyptic calculation. Building on these presuppositions, he could risk his reputation and means on the ground that 1843 was to be the last year in history. The Calvinistic understanding of the Bible with a great respect for the Old Testament contributed to Miller's hermeneutics (18).

(15) Wm. Miller's Accounts as Sheriff 1809-1811. Also Statement of Belief written in 1822, par. 15. Adventual Materials, Aurora Coll. Aurora, Ill. Hereafter quoted as MSB 1822. The whole paragraph reads: "I believe that the Second coming of Jesus Christ is near even at the door, even within twenty one years or on or before 1843."

(16) Miller 1845, pp. 11, 12.

(17) MSB 1822.

(18) Miller's preaching notes. The Miller Papers. Aurora Coll. Aurora, Ill.

Miller's leading tenets can be summed up in a few headings:

1. He was a confirmed pre-millennialist and expected the Kingdom of God or the golden age on earth to be ushered in at the Parousia at the commencement of the millennium.
2. In harmony with that principle the Millerites differed from most millenarians in rejecting the popular view of the restoration and mass salvation of the Jews prior to the Advent.
3. Miller's manifesto clearly demonstrates that he accepted the Calvinism of his denomination and believed in irresistible grace and a limited atonement. Election was stressed, founded on the will, purpose, and foreknowledge of God. Only the elect would be saved (19).
4. In contrast to many pioneers of the Sabbatarian Adventists Miller (20) was a trinitarian. There is "one living and true God, and there are three persons in the Godhead..." (21).
5. Salvation is by satisfactio vicaria, though he added significantly: "I believe the atonement to be made by the intercession of Jesus Christ and the sprinkling of his blood in the Holy of holies, and upon the mercy-seat and the people" (22). Here seems to appear the origin of the increasing Millerite speculation about Christ's ministry in a so called heavenly sanctuary. But Miller's concept was of a ministry in the Most Holy Place, and not in the "first apartment" or in the Holy Place as some of his followers taught after the collapse of the movement. For Miller rejected the idea of the Holy Place as the location for Christ's office until October, 1844 (23).
6. The only unorthodox point in his "Credo" was his idea of an exact time for the Parousia. Here Miller was adamant: Christ was bound to return to earth in a literal fashion "in or before 1843." The last date to be set for the whole movement, October 22, 1844, however, was not suggested by Miller. Instead of being a distractive component, the time element caused the propelling force in the revival and served as a catalyst which absorbed the wide-spread apocalyptic ferment in America and elsewhere (24).

Miller's startling apocalyptic time calculation can be understood only when it is viewed against its American setting. Only recently historians and sociologists have presented new interpretations of the conditions in the Jacksonian period. McLoughlin is no doubt correct in suggesting that great revivals generally provide answers

(19) MSB 1822, par. 18.

(20) Cf. Cane 1963. Froom 1971, ch. 9-12.

(21) MSB 1822, par. 2.

(22) MSB 1822, par. 9, 10.

(23) MSB 1822, par. 8. For the sanctuary idea, see Exodus, ch. 24, Leviticus, 16, 23. Hebrews ch. 8-10.

(24) Miller 1845, pp. 10-34. IBM, MSB 1822, par. 22.

to needs and anxieties in the American society (24a). In the Jacksonian era there were undoubtedly many factors to create unhappiness in the minds of the masses. The whole economical system was in upheaval in the mid-30s; mass immigration had begun and the vast wilderness surrounding the frontiers was in itself a challenge. Moreover Millerism preached a "catastrophic cosmology", which was far from unique for Millerites. Sandeen has enlarged on this theme and demonstrated, we think convincingly, how catastrophism experienced a kind of heyday in Miller's life time. The French revolution and the incipient Marxism both demonstrate this sentiment. Marxism can be interpreted as the most influential apocalyptic force in history with its roots in Old Testament prophecies, though transformed into "Innerweltliche Apokalyptik" with the proletariat as God (24b). It would be a major mistake therefore, to understand Miller's apocalyptic school of thought in downright pessimistic terms. It is true that Miller despaired of man's capacity to create the new heavens on earth, but he did believe in superhuman forces, in God and in his Christ to inaugurate the renewed Eden. For this reason it is also incorrect to interpret Miller's pre-millennialism as a distortion of the popular post-millennial model.

Two factors in particular contributed to making Miller the leader of the greatest apocalyptic revival in America in the 1840's. They were (1) the influence of his upbringing, with its highly wrought, religious emotionalism and the prevailing massive Biblicistic school of thought in combination with (2) the influence of deistic philosophy on his thought during his adolescent years. Both these stimuli continued to work upon him after his conversion. Thanks to the rational fabric in his thinking Miller differed in theory and presentation from the many markedly emotional evangelists. It is essential also to note how well Miller's preaching answered to many of the aspirations among Christians, how his pragmatic system of hermeneutics in Daniel and Revelation was geared to solving the immense nineteenth century problems.

b. Miller's "Pan-Christian" Revival

Conditions were eminently favorable in the autumn of 1831 to the acceptance of Miller's apocalyptic views. As in many other countries in the years after the Napoleonic Wars there was in the United States a great interest in apocalyptic interpretations. The temporary eclipse of the Papacy and the imprisonment of the Pope in 1798 were widely considered as evidence of the conclusion of the 1260 apocalyptic days. Many Protestants regarded these actions as the "deadly wound" to the Papacy and 1798 as marking the beginning of "the time of the end" which would usher in the advent of

the Messiah (25). This post factum interpretation became part and parcel of apocalyptic interpretations on both sides of the Atlantic (26). Furthermore Turkish affairs helped to build up apocalyptic expectation. The effete Ottoman Empire, the sick man of Europe, was linked with the sounding of the sixth apocalyptic trumpet (27), and so Turkey came in for a prophetic role for at least a century (28).

Added to all this were astronomical and meteorological phenomena, understood by many of the pious as "signs in the heavens." These were first the mysterious "Dark Day" of May 1780 in New England. Since this could not be considered a normal eclipse it caused considerable consternation (29). Then, still more impressively, there occurred shortly after Miller began his preaching campaign in rural New England an unusually heavy meteoric shower in November 1833 - the "falling of the stars" (30). Such happenings tended to raise apocalyptic excitement to a fever pitch.

Miller's strongly anti-Catholic animus was also shared by many of his contemporaries. Catholics in America were often violently persecuted and there was anti-Catholic rioting in some areas. To be a Protestant was to be American, to be respectable, and firmly to disapprove of everything Roman. Increasing Irish immigration in the thirties served only to increase Protestant prejudice (31) and to make Catholics more difficult to assimilate into the American social and religious systems. No better picture of the attitude to Catholicism in Miller's America can be given

(25) Sandeen 1970, p. 5 et passim.

(26) Froom 1946, Ibm 1954.

(27) Sandeen 1970.

(28) Froom 1954, pp. 399, 400, 700. Millerite preacher, Josiah Litch, even ventured to predict a specific date for the downfall of the Ottoman empire to Aug. 11, 1840. Cf. Loughborough 1892, p. 38. It is a well-known fact to students of apocalyptical interpretation that the "unfaithful" Moslem Turks have captured the interest of Protestants expositors all since the days of Martin Luther. Cf. Asendorf 1967. In the late 19th century expositors like Henry Grattan Guinness and Frederik Franson, "the world missionary", a Moody convert and a convinced Darbyist, also counted on the Turks as a great sign of the times of the soon coming of Jesus. Cf. Lindén 1971, pp. 229-239. Trons Segrar 1890-1900, Franson 1897, the charts.

(29) Froom 1954, ch. 13.

(30) SDA Bible Student Source Book 1962, pp. 313-319. Rowe 1974, pp. 71-73.

(31) Henry J. Browne in SAR 1961, pp. 84-86. Rowe 1974, p. 164.

(24a) McLoughlin in RA 1974, pp. 132-142.

(24b) Sandeen in RA 1974, pp. 106-108.

than that derived from a contemporary Presbyterian tract, one of a "series on popery" which thus exhorts its heaven-blest readers:

"Let us be thankful, then, that the government of this favored country is not under the influence of him who wears the triple crown. Prize the liberty which God in his providence has graciously allotted you, and pray for its continuance. And as you possess the power as well as the right to examine the doctrine of Christ for yourselves, make use of your advantages to know his will; submit to his mandates, and be guided by his word. Avoid all approaches to that intolerant spirit which has ever distinguished the apostate church; deal gently to Romanists, and show kindness to all men. And finally, evince by your conduct as well as by your words, your gratitude to God for that peculiar favor which has cast your lot, where the Bible is openly read, and where conscience is permitted to interpret, where inquisitors are powerless, and where liberty is law" (32).

Such biased and exaggerated sentiments were shared by all evangelical Protestants. McLoughlin has a telling note on the Baptists:

"Like most of their contemporaries, the Baptists considered Roman Catholicism not only the worst of heresies "the Anti-Christ", "the Whore of Babylon" but also a deadly threat to the political safety of the nation" (33).

Typical of the anti-Catholic spirit of the times was Alexander Campbell's relentless attacks on the Catholic bishop J. B. Purcell in 1839. These coincided with the beginning of Miller's big campaigns in the cities (34). For Protestants to evangelize, was in effect, the same as to nationalize (35). The aim of clergy and evangelists was to make America a Christian nation. However, while Protestants were solidly united in this endeavour, Catholics were rigidly excluded. To be a Catholic was usually considered to be un-American. This attitude prevailed more or less throughout the nineteenth century and it did not begin to weaken materially until World War I and in the 1930s.

In 1831 it all began after more than a decade of slow building up. Whereas Miller prior to August 1831 had preached as an exhorter in the local Baptist church and explained his apocalyptic views by word of mouth in private conversation, his public career as a preacher began at that time (36). But it is only fair to mention that there were considerable obstacles in Miller's way when he took to preaching or lecturing in 1831:

(32) Series on Popery III, The Virgin Mary by John Hall 1842, p. 33.

(33) McLoughlin 1971, p. 736. Italics added.

(34) Froom 1954, pp. 250, 251. Sandeen 1970, p. 45.

(35) McLoughlin 1959, p. 267.

(36) Rowe 1974, pp. 10-15.

his path was much more problematic than some apologists have contended (37). Some of these difficulties rested in the messenger, some problems referred to economy and primitive means of communication. In fact Miller was basically a timid man, who disliked standing in the spotlight; he was also prematurely disabled. The self-taught preacher lacked a polished style and felt the lack of a formal theological training, which he at times sought to compensate by an anti-clerical attitude (38). Such handicaps Miller conquered by an almost unquenchable conviction to be uniquely called by the Lord to warn the world of immediate, utmost danger.

And he had to face up to controversy even in his own church at Low Hampton. Because of adventism he was a somewhat controversial person. When the church was looking for a new pastor Miller was not everybody's natural choice. His slow, somewhat dry preaching style could not compete with the racy delivery of the evangelists of the times; and as mentioned he was a Freemason. Rowe has suggested, most likely correctly, that particularly Miller's relation to masonry delayed the issuance of his preaching licence from the Baptist group in Hampton (39).

From a theological point of view there were no vital objections raised against Miller at this early period of his ministry. Opposition of this kind became increasingly common later in the 40s, when Millerism had grown to be a nation-wide revival (40). In the 30s, however, few men visualised the radical overtones of Miller's "inter-denominational" witness, for in those years many churches of different organizations welcomed Millerite preachers as successful soul winners. Apocalyptic preaching only improved the chances of creating a religious interest, and the concept of an immediate millennium inspired God's Zion.

It is easy to follow the development of Miller's career from the notations he made of his preaching itineraries from the middle of the 30s and from his wide correspondence, which is preserved (41). Another sign of the positive attitude of the evangelical, biblicistic denominations towards Miller can be seen in the extended license he received in the spring of 1835, when several pastors from various denominations recommended Miller as a preacher of apocalyptic subjects (42). Besides

(37) Cf. Nichol 1944. Froom 1954, p. 455-554.

(38) Cf. Rowe 1974.

(39) *Ibm.*, pp. 68, 69. Like other denominations the Baptist Association in New York split over masonry. Rowe 1974, p. 46.

(40) Cf. *infra*, pp.

(41) Text Book, Oct. 1st, 1834. The Miller Papers. Aurora College, Aurora, Ill. The notations were very concise and contained only the date and the place for the lecture and generally only the main text or two from the Bible.

(42) Cf. Froom 1954, pp. 501, 502.

Baptists, Christians, Methodists, Congregationalists and even a few Presbyterian churches welcomed Miller during that period (43). Thus, for years Miller and his fellow-preachers found a welcome to the pulpits. Millennial preaching, whether of pre- or post-millennial kind brought revival to the churches, which was precisely what church leaders of the time wanted.

As long as the Millerites were not divisive, the churches of the Evangelical class took an interest in them. As soon as specific dates were set for the Parousia, however, and they pressed their ideas upon the historic churches, the pulpits were barred to the Millerites. But this part of the movement falls mainly after 1840. From that time Millerism became a divisive factor among the competing isms (44). The student of religion is no doubt aware of the unstable nature of a revival movement without any organization. Another reason for a changed attitude from the side of the denominations to Millerism after 1840 is not difficult to detect: with the phenomenal success of the movement it turned out to be a potential threat to the established groups.

A close look at Miller's diaries and note-books demonstrates how consistently Miller followed his plan for the apocalyptic-evangelical lectures. With few exceptions he presented the same texts over and over again (45). Gradually he became known in the nation. As a preacher he arose from obscurity to nation wide notoriety. Soon he was surrounded by a cluster of preachers who shared his millennial views no matter how different they were in other theological matters. The obvious heterogeneity in the movement has been demonstrated by Rowe (45a). The Millerite movement thus became interdenominational with representatives from several Evangelical church groups. The Rev. Charles Fitch, one of Miller's radicals, was a Presbyterian; Joshua V. Himes, the principal leader and organizing genius of the movement, belonged to Christian Connection; so did Joseph Bates and James White; Josiah Litch was a Methodist; and Dr. Henry Dana Ward was an Episcopalian rector in New York City; the cautious Biblical scholar Nathan iel/ N. Whiting, was another Baptist (46). But the Christian Connection proved by far the most fruitful field for the Millerites. As has been observed there was no agreement on many doctrinal points among even the closest associates of Miller, nor did Miller demand this. He was satisfied with unanimity of agreement with fundamental theses of his apocalyptic interpretations - the pre-millennial, imminent second Advent;

(43) Rowe 1974, pp. 76-84. Arthur 1970, ch. I.

(44) Rowe 1974, pp. 176-178. Arthur 1970, passim. Miller's own home church at Hampton split over the issue of adventism, but Elon Galusha's prosperous church in Lockport, N. Y., fared worst of all churches.

(45) Text Book, Oct. 1st, 1834. The Miller Papers.

(45a) Rowe 1974. Arthur 1970.

(46) Arthur 1970, pp. 14-41. Froom 1954, pp. 511-581.

the future of the Jews; the need for radical conversion; and such like doctrines (47).

October 1839 stands forth as the beginning of a new era in the Millerite movement, when the "old farmer" met the young and talented pastor-organizer Joshua V. Himes in Boston, the cultural center of the nation (48). From this moment Millerism left its small scale promotion in New York state and became a strong religious force in the great cities in the East. The man behind this transformation was not Father Miller but Himes. Too long historians have misinterpreted Millerism, so far as the leaders are concerned. Much read works like Nichol's *Midnight Cry* and Froom's "Adventist encyclopedia" have allotted too much importance to the person of Miller in the movement (49). It is true that Miller unleashed the apocalyptic ferment and led it into premillennial channels. Miller was the theologizer and original promoter of the ideas; he was also a convincing speaker, but he was no dynamic leader or organizer. Rowe has shown that already by 1837 the movement could no longer be controlled by Miller (50). With Miller everything went on in a small, if not uncouth way. This limitation was only natural in a farmer from upstate New York. But Miller's influence was considerable thanks to his impeccable ethical qualities. If there ever was a sincere, albeit deceived apocalyptic revivalist, that was Miller. But promotion and planning for the important urban onslaught, including the vital publicizing work, was not his field. To these remarks could be added the planning for the important theological conferences, the so called Second Advent Conferences. Again, other men than Miller were the leaders (51). With Himes as the organizer Millerism invaded all the leading urban centers in New England and Miller's apocalyptic ideas became a topic of general interest to many Americans. For this reason it would be utterly wrong to follow the traditional view (52) and style Millerism as a local backwood

(47) Arthur 1970, pp. 12-15.

(48) Bliss 1853, pp. 140-145. Rowe 1974, 92-112.

(49) Froom 1954, pp. 454-662. Nichol 1944, ch. 5. Nichol believed in the decisive influence of individuals or "supermen" in the formation of history, rather than in ideas. N. remarked: "The quality of importance ever resides in personalities, in people. It is not multitudes in the abstract, not buildings, nor organizations that accomplish great things, but men, individual men with vision, conviction, faith, and ardor. Himes was in the spiritual succession of those who long ago were accused of turning the world upside down." Nichol 1944, p. 71. Italics added.

(50) Rowe 1974, pp. 77, 78.

(51) Himes was a gifted promoter and organizer, who ran the Millerite movement as a Christian denomination, whose methods he was very familiar with.

(52) Cf. Timothy L. Smith 1965, p. 228. Tyler 1962, pp. 74-78. Kraus 1958, p. 191.

crude and 'bizarre' movement restricted to the destitute classes, or as Elmer T. Clark expressed it in the 1930s "as the typical cult of the disinherited and suffering poor" (53). Such misunderstandings are difficult to comprehend, but have been due to inadequate research. Preconceived conceptions exerted so strong influence that even writers of repute forgot to check their theses against the documents.

In fact Millerism exerted a notable influence over a broad spectrum of American Christians, regardless of their economical status. Rowe has conclusively shown how Miller could fascinate divergent Christian groups (54). In the first place William Miller to many Christians appeared as a fortress against infidelity and deism by his solid Bible preaching, for no student who has taken some pains to understand Miller's message can avoid seeing how his preaching aimed at vindicating the inerrancy of the Holy Writ. Miller's apocalyptic interpretation was like a two-edged sword against liberalism and deistic infidelity. Moreover, the Millerites preached revivalism in addition to the message of the Apocalypse, albeit their revivalism most often was less emotional than the sort popular evangelists promoted (55). Miller himself and many of his associates were self-made preachers, who had discovered "truth" by diligent studies on their own. In this way Finney appealed to many Americans who had tired of clerical dominance. Many pietists were sensitive for such arguments. Finally, there was a mighty appeal in the inspired preaching of the advent of the millennium, whether of a pre- or a post-millennial type. And besides Millerism also presented an alternative for socially deprived groups, who despaired of the capacity of the establishment to cope with the rising tide of social evils.

After 1840, when J. V. Himes had taken over the actual leadership of the movement, the inherent potentiality of Millerism could be realistically demonstrated. Proficient planning and the use of mass communication by the means of camp-meetings and publications carried Miller's ideas into all major cities and towns of the norther parts of the nation. No longer was Millerism a backwoods concern to end up in a forgotten part of the country; for in 1840-1844 the cultural centers in the East, Boston and New York City became some of the principal targets for the onslaught of the Millerites (56).

In the hectic finale of the movement in 1843-1844 the Millerites ran about 124 camp meetings and attracted between two thousand and fifteen thousand to every one (57). At this point, however, characteristics of the old time religion began to manifest themselves - camp-meeting songs to

(53) Elmer T. Clark 1949, p. 25. The first ed. was publ. in 1937.

(54) Rowe 1974, ch. III, esp. pp. 66, 67.

(55) Arthur 1970, p. 6.

(56) Cf. Lindén 1971, pp. 39-56.

(57) Froom 1954, pp. 652, 653.

work up the emotional pitch, stirring appeals for revival and conversion, emotional responses, fervent group praying, and Millerism's unique farewell ritual - the formation of a vast circle, with joined hands, and the promise to be faithful till the imminent day of Christ's return (58). Whittier, the Quaker poet, was present at Miller's first camp-meeting at East Kingston, Massachusetts, and has described the build-up of tension created by the camp-meeting songs among crowds already in a highly excited state. His report is of particular value, for it was written by a non partisan almost at the time of the event (59). It is of interest in this narrative to notice the character of preaching and the use of the so called 'prophetic charts' in the services (60). Whittier considered the Millerites sincere Christians, but could not sympathise with their apocalyptic views.

Whittier made a note of the impressive camp meeting songs. This important primary historical source has so far been sadly neglected in works on the Millerites. Joshua V. Himes was responsible for the publishing of many camp-meeting hymns and songs. Several editions were pocket size for greater facility in use (61). An examination of the contents reveals that a majority of the songs were items cherished by most Christian groups. Thus other believers could more easily be integrated into the advent community. But the Millerites also supplied additional hymnals or songs to give a more adequate interpretation of their apocalyptic beliefs (62). Many of the songs were crude and lacked dignity and decorum, but they were no doubt efficient as inspirational songs among culturally deprived settlers in the 'wilderness.' William Warren Sweet has analysed some of these camp meeting songs, so called frontier religious songs and their milieu (63).

One of the most popular tunes was "Old Church Yard," (64) which ran to nine stanzas with a chorus. A beloved adventist phrase, "You will

(58) Dick 1930, p. 84.

(59) Whittier 1889, p. 426. This narrative, printed in 1889, was written several decades earlier. "Three or four years ago, on my way eastward I spent an hour or two at a camp ground of the second advent in East Kingston." *Ibm*, p. 425.

(60) *Ibm*, p. 426. Millerite charts of this type are kept in O. R. Jenks Memorial Collection, Aurora College, Aurora, Ill.

(61) Most of these hymn books were edited by the great publisher of the movement, Joshua V. Himes. The common size was 10x7 centimeters.

(62) Cf. *Millennial Harp or Second Advent Hymns*, Boston 1842. (J. V. Himes).

(63) Sweet 1952, pp. 110-113.

(64) *Millennial Harp or Second Advent Hymns*; designed for meetings on the Second Coming of Christ, pp. 24-25. By Joshua V. Himes. Boston 1842.

see your Lord a-coming," repeated three times, began the song, which was followed up by the chorus, "While the old church yards hear the band of music, hear the band of music, Which is coming through the air." The remaining stanzas dealt with basic Millerite doctrine - the second advent of Christ, the tremendous upheaval it would precipitate on the unbelieving world, and Gabriel blowing the trumpet to arouse the righteous dead to eternal life and drive the ungodly to everlasting damnation. "You will flee to rocks and mountains," the hymnist told the sinner and reassured the saints with descriptions of their everlasting bliss (65).

"The Last Trumpet" (66) tells of the Parousia, Gabriel's Horn, the enraptured expectation of the waiting bands of the faithful. The terrors of hell alluded to gave that extra bit of edge to the joys of the saints. Phrases were repeated to give emphasis; the introduction was typically revivalistic: "O get your hearts in order, order, order; O get your hearts in order for the end of time" (67). Some hymns were composed by the Millerites themselves, since no previous songs could fully express the time message of the movement. One hymn said: "For Daniel says he'll come this year (1843)" (68). Like many revivalistic hymns these songs had little poetry about them and much naiveté of style, as can be seen in "Send the Glory."

Send the glory,
Send the glory just now,
Send the power, send the power,
Send the power just now.
Shake the sinner, shake the sinner,
Shake the sinner, just now.
Drive the devil, drive the devil,
Drive the devil, just now.
Sweep the churches, sweep the churches,
Sweep the churches, just now.
Hell is gaping, hell is gaping,
Hell is gaping, just now.

(65) *Ibm.*

(66) *Ibm.* pp. 40-41.

(67) *Second Advent Hymns*. pp. 44, 45. Publ. by A. R. Brown. Boston 1842.

(68) *The Millennial Harp*, p. 31. Boston 1843. The same idea was expressed in two other camp-meeting hymnals by J. V. Himes, publ. in 1842. Cf. *Second Advent Hymns*, Boston 1842, where the subtitle reads: "In Eighteen Hundred Forty-Three Will be the year of Jubilee." *Second Advent Hymns*; Designed to be used in prayer and Camp Meetings. Publ. by A. R. Brown. Exeter, N. H. 1842, p. 9. speaks about "Christ's coming next year."

For the sinner, for the sinner,
For the sinner, just now.
Christ is coming, Christ is coming,
Christ is coming, next year. (69)

Nevertheless, however crude and primitive the character of these frontier-type songs, their importance can hardly be overemphasized, when they are considered as the rallying cries of vast throngs in camp-meetings and as conditioning agencies to prelude the fiery appeals of the evangelists. While the greatest part of Millerite hymnody was crudest doggerel, it must be conceded that some hymns may justly lay claim to some merit - like "Millennial Glory" (70). Both the words and the music of this song are of a superior quality, the words possibly because they are loose paraphrases from Old Testament prophecy - visions of Isaiah's golden age, blossoming desert, and swords turned pruning hooks (71).

One important aspect of Millerite success with camp-meetings concerns the raising of funds. A considerable part of what was needed to run the campaigns was raised by collections at mass camp-meetings (72). Some responded to appeals by stripping themselves of jewelry and wedding rings (73), and so great was the generosity that Millerite leaders could eventually not make use of all the funds that came pouring in (74). Again it is evident that all Millerites were not a penniless proletariat. On the other hand Millerite leaders did not enrich themselves with their plenty: Miller claims that he had to help finance his extended lecture tours from his personal savings (75). The only Millerite to be accused of dipping into the bag was Himes and he came out of his trial with honor untarnished (76). The accusations against Himes most probably arose on account of the impressive

(69) *Second Advent Hymns*; Publ. by A. R. Brown, Boston 1842, hymn 5. Italics supplied.

(70) *Millennial Harp*; or *Second Advent Hymns*. pp. 62. 63. Ed. by J. V. Himes. Boston 1842.

(71) *Ibm.*

(72) For example, one thousand dollars were collected only at the small camp meeting at East Kingston, Mass. Dick 1930, p. 58.

(73) *The Midnight Cry*, Aug. I, 1844, p. 22. Also in Nichol 1944, p. 211.

(74) Dick 1930, pp. 205-207. D. reports that the middle class Millerites eventually gave away their money to the poor. In a certain place "a large roll of bank notes lay on the preachers stand." Stolen money was returned by repenting believers. *Ibm.*, pp. 208, 209.

(75) *Signs of the Times*, Feb. 15, 1843, pp. 173, as in Nichol 1944, p. 129. A recent criticism of the common Marxist social theory of revivals, cf. Stow Persons in SAR 1961, pp. 399, 400.

(76) Arthur 1961. (Joshua V. Himes and the cause of Adventism. M.A. thesis. Univ. of Chicago. Unpubl.) Dick 1930, pp. 114, 115.

sums he handled as the chief administrator of the money consuming activities of the movement. The publishing alone must have amounted to almost astronomical sums.

The mass of printed materials the Millerites produced was nearly unprecedented (77). In 1842 they were printing six hundred thousand items of propaganda for distribution in New York City, but by May 1844 they had published five million copies of all manner of books and pamphlets (78). Probably no other religious movement or denomination ever produced so vast a quantity of printed matter at that period in so short a time. Most of these publications were tracts and periodicals, but the larger works included apocalyptic commentaries and compilations growing out of the many Second Advent Conferences of the time (79). In a chain of strategic places in New England the series of more profound exposition of the key Millerite ideas could be studied by the public in so called Second Advent Libraries (80).

The very titles of Millerite publications give a succinct suggestion of the movement's theological tenets. The best known journal was *Signs of the Times* launched by Himes in March 1840. Himes also edited for a time another leading Millerite Journal, *The Midnight Cry*, the title of which derives from the favorite parable of the ten virgins, the "cry" being the second coming of Christ. Both these journals were published in Boston. In another Millerite stronghold, Philadelphia, Josiah Litch, a Methodist minister, published large editions of *Philadelphia Alarm* and *Trumpet of Alarm*. Former Methodist Joseph Marsh, who joined the Christian denomination and edited *The Christian Palladium* at Rochester, New York, later edited the Millerite periodical *The Voice of Truth* and *Glad Tidings of the Kingdom at Hand* (81). This paper evidently combined Millerite millenarianism with a sectarian tendency. Enoch Jacob's *Day Star* and its predecessor, *The Jubilee Trumpet*, expressed a similar announcement of an impending Golden Age. *The Hope of Israel* and *Trump of the Jubilee* were two more horses from the same stable (82).

The Millerite publication campaign spread a knowledge of Millerism in all the main centers of New England population and beyond as far as Chicago. These journals even invaded the South and caused considerable

(77) Froom 1954, pp. 621-625.

(78) *Ibm*, p. 628.

(79) Arthur 1961. *Ibm* 1970, pp. 20-30

(80) The books and pamphlets written by the leaders, foremost by Miller, Himes, Litch and Fitch, were increased by a great deal of books published by other Christian authors, whose views agreed with Miller's main ideas. The books were offered free of charge to readers for loan.

(81) Froom 1954, 621-628.

(82) *Ibm*.

(83) Cf. Rowe 1969. Robert Olson 1972.

reaction there (83). As Millerism moved to its climax and end in October 1844 it spread large broadsides far and wide proclaiming, *End of the World, October 22, 1844* (84). But these blasts did not go unanswered by an indifferent "world;" Millerite slogans came back well parodied (85). Nevertheless, the Millerite use of printed propaganda was not abandoned by their spiritual heirs, as is evident from the vigorous literary campaigns still carried on by Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

The part played in Millerism by camp-meetings might easily lead to the conclusion that it was merely another American frontier revivalist movement. But Miller's teachings appealed as much to the urban masses as to farmers. In several cultural centers the Millerites made use of many prominent auditoriums - in Boston they preached in the Athenaeum Theatre, in Worcester, Mass., in the old Town Hall, in Pittsburg, Penna., in the Courthouse; and when they met for their fourth General Conference in New York City they convened in Finney's famous Broadway Tabernacle, with accomodation for 3500 (86). In Philadelphia they rented the spacious Philadelphia Museum which seated 5000 (87). These figures show that there was a real Miller fever in New England's urban centers in the 40's. The question about the second coming of Christ was of a general interest among the saints, who by and large expected the millennium to be erected on earth.

What concerned the Millerites more than the character of the auditoriums they could use, however, was the problem of reaching their vast interested audiences. This became acute as the established denominations began to turn against them, locking them out of their churches and actively trying to hinder their preaching. Millerite response was to build cheap meeting places called tabernacles, not designed for continual use because of the imminence of the advent of Christ (88). Where no other facilities were obtainable, they resorted to the use of a gigantic tent - "the Big Tent" - into which they could pack up to six thousand hearers (89). Thus the Millerites led the way to the later very popular tent-meeting campaigns. In the midst of all these super-human efforts to "warn" the world for the grand event, Miller's mathematical precision was bound to precipitate the crisis that would destroy the united movement. But before that his predictions were acting like a spell, forcing the masses of American Evangelicals to respond to the Millerite crusade.

(84) Broadside, "End of the World, October 22, 1844!" NPLA, New York City. Nichol evidently considered this printing an anti-Millerite product, which seems to be incorrect. Cf. Nichol 1944, p. 401.

(85) Froom 1954, p. 758. Since the Millerites were well-known in New England, unscrupulous businessmen alluded them in their advertisement. Cf. Dick 1930, p. 156.

(86) Froom 1954, pp. 605, 606, 556.

(87) *Ibm*, p. 556

(88) Dick 1930, pp. 188, 218. The Millerite Tabernacle in Boston seated nearly 4,000.

(89) Froom 1954, p. 656. Froom's figure appears to be somewhat exaggerated.

c. Towards Ultraism - Churchly Reaction

During the early 1840's Millerism reached the peak of its influence, making a tremendous and successful onslaught under the skillfull organization of Himes on the urban areas of the East. Miller's apocalyptic computations became the subject of conversation on the streets. A letter of 1842 gives a vivid picture of the stir his preaching made:

"I am urged by the citizens of this place, as well as the members of our church to tell you to come and lecture here as soon as you possibly can. The excitement is such now that it is the topic of conversation with almost the whole community" (90).

Miller's problem was not the securing of audiences, it was the satisfying of urgent demands for his presence.

"If you cannot come to the appointments which you have already made are attended, I hope you will make no other appointments before this place. . . I am confident you are gathering in the wheat, it is best to labor where the Harvest is ripe. . . I think your labors would be more profitably spent in this place, at present, than you can now imagine" (91).

Jeremiah Murphy's appeal was typical. There can be no question about Millerite preaching drawing the greatest crowds of the years from 1842 to 1844 - years of the "Miller craze." But the stir Miller was making presented the leaders of established churches with a problem. Miller's preaching was producing undoubted religious revival, but what would be the outcome of that revival? It was true that Miller seems to have had no ambition to found a new denomination centering in himself like a second Wesley, but he was already a mighty religious magnet. He had tens of thousands of convinced followers and even greater numbers of sympathizers. What was to prevent this developing into another denomination? In fact, most churches had begun as movements. As yet though officially unorganized, the Millerites were pouring out publications, organizing General Conferences, and running crowded camp-meetings. With the crystallization of Millerite theology a confrontation with established churches would be inevitable.

In the summer of 1843 the Methodist conference of Maine felt obliged to take action against the increasing numbers of their members who were openly going over to Miller's teachings and looking for the second advent in 1842 (92). Among those excommunicated in Portland, Maine, was the

(90) Jeremiah Murphy to Miller, Feb., 4, 1842. The Miller Papers. The letter was sent from Schylerville, N. Y. Italics added.

(91) *Ibm.*

(92) Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist-Episcopal Church for 1843, 1844, pp. 373-375, 501-505. Cf. Wellcome 1874, p. 293.

whole of the Harmon family. The youthful Ellen Harmon was destined to become the prophet of the radical Adventists who survived the 1844 debacle (93). The Methodist Bath Resolutions led to interrogation of many Methodist pastors who had accepted Miller's teachings and many of these were, like the Harmons, expelled from the Methodist fellowship (94). It so happened that the way lay open to formal organization among the comers.

The theological attack on Millerism began in Miller's own denomination. John Dowland, a Baptist minister in Rhode Island, though not the first opponent of Millerism, was a typical critic, who argued against Miller on generally accepted post-millennial grounds (95). He maintained that there was no connection between the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24-27 and the 2300 days of chapter 8:14 (96). This was an assault on Miller's key thesis; on the connection between these two references depended the calculations that resulted in the prediction of the second advent in 1843. Dowland further contended, in flat contradiction of current Protestant interpretation, that "the little horn" of Daniel's predictions in chapters 7 and 8 was a reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, a Syrian king of the second century B. C. not to imperial and papal Rome (97). He accused Miller of misinterpreting the 2300 days by counting them as literal years and argued that the 2300 "evenings and mornings" were simply 1150 literal days at the expiry of which Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated the Jewish temple (98).

Further post-millennial opposition followed from a more prominent source. Finney, the great evangelist, was a post-millennialist and in spite of his leading position as an evangelist he had felt the challenge of Miller's teaching and preaching (99). Finney's followers were going over to Miller, and in the autumn of 1843 Miller was conducting daily Bible classes in Boston (1). Finney joined the classes and met Miller privately for further discussion as to the meaning of the "stone" of Daniel's second chapter. Miller asserted that the stone represented the coming of Christ, for that would result in the supersession of all earthly organizations, while Finney interpreted it as the Church (2), which through gradual reform and the preaching of the Gospel would ultimately set up the kingdom of God and lead the world into the millennium. The two positions were irreconcilable

(93) White 1860, pp. 21-25.

(94) Dick 1930, p. 232. Acc. to D. 44. 3% of the Millerite preachers were of the Methodist extraction. Cf. Froom 1954, pp. 776-783.

(95) Dowling 1840, Rowe 1974, pp. 88, 89.

(96) *Ibm.*, pp. 9-12.

(97) *Ibm.*, pp. 17-20.

(98) Dowling 1840, pp. 17-20.

(99) Finney 1876, pp. 370, 371. Cf. Finney's contemporary statement in The Oberlin Evangelist V, Apr. 12, 1843, p. 58.

(1) Finney 1876, pp. 370, 371.

(2) *Ibm.*

though both men agreed that the immediate future was big with portent (3). Miller held on adamantly to his view that a literal second advent would precede the millennium (4).

Another influential critic of Miller's views was the Andover theologian Moses Stuart (5). Stuart remarked that amateur interpreters, ignorant of the background of apocalyptic literature like Daniel and the Revelation were responsible for much confusion by their promulgation of fanciful theories and predictions. A thorough study of the original languages was absolutely vital to a proper understanding of the apocalyptic books. The apocalyptic interpreter needed also an adequate understanding of Oriental customs and manners (6). Stuart's *Hints* boiled down to four main observations:

1. that apocalyptic predictions were not capable of a dual interpretation;
2. that contemporary events could not be interpreted as a fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecy;
3. that Miller and others were quite wrong in invoking the year-day principle in arriving at a prediction of the Parousia;
4. that there was no ground for the more or less uniform Protestant interpretation of Daniel in terms of the four world empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome (7).

Stuart's views were surprising in an Andover professor and aroused much discussion. Nonetheless they gained wide selective acceptance even among conservative literalist interpreters. Dissent from Stuart focused on two main points and was expressed by the Methodists. They held on to the year-day principle (while stoutly rejecting Miller's date of 1843 for the second coming) and to the conclusions of "the historical school of interpretation" that the history of the world is in fact predicted in Daniel and that Rome is the empire represented by the fourth beast (8). It was the general acceptance of Miller's system of interpreting Daniel and the Revelation that prevented a wider welcome to Stuart's theses (9). Protestants were not yet ready to give up beating Roman Catholics with the apocalyptic stick. Papacy baiting was seriously threatened by Stuart's attack on Miller.

At the same time there was a welcome for what the fundamentalist orientated Methodists rejected. The Universalists greeted Stuart's *Hints* with great satisfaction and gave them a very favourable review (10). This was to be expected, for two years previously the Universalist theologian, Otis A. Skinner of Boston, had disposed of Miller's conclusions on the

- (3) *Ibm.*
- (4) *Ibm.*
- (5) Stuart 1842.
- (6) *Ibm.*, pp. 104-108.
- (7) *Ibm.*, pp. 8-24.
- (8) *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, Jul. 1844, pp. 364-382.
- (9) *Ibm.*, pp. 364, 365. Stuart 1842, pp. 3-9.
- (10) *The Universalist*, Nov. 26, 1842. Johnson 1918, pp. 154-155.

basis of a preterist system of interpretation (11). Skinner held that the apocalyptic predictions found their fulfillment either in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. or in the events of the first centuries of the Christian era (12). He read no Roman pontiff into the "little horn." Skinner's views, in fact, make very modern reading and have much of the vaticinia ex eventu theory about them.

The last one of Miller's more prominent critics to be dealt with here is Dr. Horace Bushnell, who like Stuart was a Congregationalist. Bushnell was an appreciative student of German liberal theology, and a sworn enemy of certain types of emotional religion (13). Bushnell made no bones about rejecting Millerism on the grounds that no Christians should expect any kind of liberal return of Christ. At the same time we know that Bushnell was also influenced by Coleridge's romantic school. Bushnell visualised the second coming as a kind of world-betterment (14). Such views represented the antithesis of Millerism.

Until recently Millerite History has been concerned with the situation in the North, and especially with New England. Further research by David L. Rowe and Robert W. Olson has proved beyond any doubt that the Millerites also exerted an influence in the South (15). Rowe points out how badly the newspapers handled the Millerites, when the editors simply copied the stories in northern newspapers (16). In the South there were no organized Millerite efforts. Nevertheless, the Baptists and others welcomed the "glad tidings of the kingdom at hand" to renew their churches and bring new members into their folds. Rowe concludes that Millerism or "adventism" could be led into the denomination channels in Virginia to significantly increase the membership (17). In Virginia adventism never caused a schism or division. The ministers had the thing under control and remodelled Millerism to serve the popular sentiments; in Virginia the unorthodox part of Miller's preaching, the time fixed Parousia, was never given a chance

- (11) No consensus of terminology exists; different terms are used in Europe and in the United States. Cf. Froom 1950, pp. 24, 89. Sandeen 1970, pp. 36-39. Lindeskog 1952, p. 242. RGG³ for the same terms.
- (12) Skinner 1840, pp. 25, 66.
- (13) Wellcome 1874, pp. 208, 209.
- (14) *Ibm.*
- (15) Rowe 1972. Robert Olson 1972. Although the historical material, which O. examined is somewhat limited in scope, the five leading denominational papers he worked with give ample evidence of the influence of Millerism in the South. For interpretation of Millerism, O. followed Nichol. Olson 1972, pp. 28-30.
- (16) Rowe 1972, pp. 9-20.
- (17) *Ibm.*, pp. 28-37.

of harassing the churches (18). Rowe was not able to explain why this was so, but merely referred to the conservative outlook in the South and a continuous need of counteracting any influence smacking of abolition (19). Rowe's tentative reasoning leaves many phases of the onslaught of Miller's movement in the South unanswered. It would be incorrect to over-emphasize the conservative feelings in the South; after all, for instance Jackson came from this part of the United States.

Robert Olson's examination, mainly of five leading Baptist journals, sustains Rowe's findings that the churches wanted to make full use of the Biblical doctrine of the second advent and the restoration of all things, though they were extremely critical of several of Miller's distinctive teachings. In fact, the Millerites received mostly as harsh a treatment in these churchy papers as was the case in the secular press. A North Carolina editor felt that Miller's ideas were nonsensical, and called the Millerites "imposters, fanatics, dupes" and so forth (20). The more serious criticism said that Miller had no right to begin the 2300 "days" and the seventy weeks on the same date (21). A Kentucky paper wrote that the doctrine of the restitution of the Jews was really a key question which disproved Millerism (22). There were a few exceptions to this most negative view. For example William Sands, editor of the *Religious Herald* in Richmond, Virginia, gave Miller a restricted, sympathetic treatment (23). It is worth noticing that the talented religious organizer, Alexander Campbell, who himself advocated millenarian beliefs, quite logically expressed a fairly positive view of Miller (24).

The Baptist editors received their information on Miller mainly through the press, both secular and religious, i. e. the northern press. Millerite journals, like the *Midnight Cry*, however, circulated freely in some places in the South; a Baptist editor even complained that *Midnight Cry* was subscribed to in many Baptist homes, when no official Baptist paper was found in the house (25). With few exceptions Baptist editors reacted strongly against Miller's time calculations.

- (18) *Ibm*, pp. 7-8. John Thomas M.D. an English emigrant, who settled in Virginia in 1832, and later organized the Adventist group, the Christadelphians, was an exception in this in accepting Miller's 1843 time. Rowe, 1969. pp. 24-29.
- (19) *Ibm*, pp. 37-40.
- (20) Olson 1972, pp. 3, 109, 205, 206. Cf. Ira V. Brown in *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 16, 1943. Boston.
- (21) Olson 1972, pp. 143-145.
- (22) *Ibm*, p. 4.
- (23) *Ibm*, pp. 204-207.
- (24) Rowe 1972, pp. 17-18.
- (25) *Ibm*, p. 211.

The impressive criticism against Millerism in both the North and South is evidence in itself of the influence Miller was exerting over the minds of many Americans. Indeed, it was Miller's strength that his message was deeply rooted in the contemporary theological and social fabric. Among the many Evangelical "Bible Christians" Miller was a formidable competitive preacher in the field of apocalyptic subjects. Even in his date setting many agreed with him and feared he might be right.

IV. Millerites and Social Reform

Mention has already been made of the prevalence of utopian reform ideas in the United States prior to the Civil War (26). Religious enthusiasm and social concern went hand in hand, and apocalyptic ideas often accelerated the process (27). In an examination of the Millerite attitude to reform it is also important to recall Miller's own involvement in American society during his Deistic period (28). The common interest in social reform on the part of the ministers and revival preachers, however, was only one source of the much later "Social Gospel" (29). Revivalists and enlightened clergy functioned as a kind of pressure group on the politicians. Unfortunately, the great part played by religious progressive reformers tends to be overlooked by many modern sociologists and historians, possibly because of the tendency to favour a purely rational and secularist explanation (30). Many consider it impossible to connect social betterment with the flurry of an apocalyptic revival. To be sure, such tendencies do not belong to any unprejudiced scholarly work.

The fact that Millerism welcomed all manners of ideas on social reform, can be explained partly because it lacked the conservatism of an established organization. Moreover, Millerism penetrated into districts where the evils of industrialization and urban living flourished. It included also among its leading protagonists idealists and intellectuals like Litch and Himes.

It was in Boston that the Millerites came into contact with a group of zealous social reformers headed by William Lloyd Garrison. During the early forties Himes and Garrison worked together in conventions and on

- (26) Cf. *supra*, pp. 24ff.
- (27) Cf. Cole 1966. Timothy L. Smith 1965, ch. V, IX, X-XIV. Cf. ABR 1967, p. 1.
- (28) Cole 1966, pp. 77, 122. Smith 1965, ch. VII, IX.
- (29) Cole 1966, pp. 108, 117, 123, 127. Nye-Murpurgo 1955, p. 392. Clark 1968b, pp. 13-199.
- (30) Cole 1966, pp. 3-17. ABR 1967, p. 1.

various projects of reform (31). Garrison himself had a markedly religious background and at one stage had contemplated formal theological training in a Baptist seminary. Though nothing came of this interest, Garrison preserved his religious faith throughout his life (32), though not at all conventionally expressed. In Himes's Chardon Street Chapel Garrison and Himes met a heterogeneous group of America's leading social reformers and there some of the most radical abolitionist conferences were held (33). A complete freedom of speech prevailed in Himes's chapel; any scheme for social betterment could be advanced for discussion. From the very beginning of their association Himes supported Garrison's campaigns for the immediate liberation of the slaves (34), and Millerite editors at times even took part in the production of the abolitionist journals, *The Liberator* and *The Emancipator* (35). Garrison was deeply appreciative of the open doors of Himes's chapel and said that it would go down in history as one of the famous places of Boston (36).

Himes took a great interest in all kinds of reform and not only in the immediate emancipation of the negroes; he promoted temperance, women's rights, pacifism and inter-denominational rapprochement. His association with radical reformers has earned him the title of "a radical of the radicals" (37). But there were many other reformers within the ranks of the Millerites. Garrison counted on Miller himself as a convinced abolitionist, a pacifist (sic!) and an advocate of temperance (38). Henry Jones, a Congregationalist, was another Millerite abolitionist and temperance propagandist (39). Joseph Bates of Fairhaven, Connecticut, a lesser figure in Millerism, but a leading apostle of Adventist Sabbatarianism after 1844, founded one of the earliest temperance chapters in America in Fairhaven and organized an abolitionist association there (40). The Presbyterian Charles Fitch attacked slavery as early as 1837 (probably under the influence of Garrison) in his outburst *Slavery weighed in the Balance of Truth and Its Comparative Guilt Illustrated* (41).

Miller, Litch, Himes and Fitch, the Big Four of Millerism were all deeply committed to various reform projects, so much so that there was a distinct possibility of Millerism turning into one of the many utopian reform movements of the time. What prevented this from taking place was only the

- (31) Arthur 1961, pp. 39-40.
- (32) Nye-Murpurgo 1955, pp. 10, 195.
- (33) Arthur 1961, pp. 41-50.
- (34) *The Liberator*, Jun. 5, 1840, p. 89.
- (35) Froom 1954, pp. 632, 633.
- (36) *The Liberator*, May 20, 1842, p. 79.
- (37) Arthur 1961, p. 37.
- (38) *The Liberator*, Feb. 21, 1840, as in Arthur 1961, p. 27.
- (39) Nichol 1944, pp. 177, 178.
- (40) Anderson 1972, pp. 104-112.
- (41) Fitch 1837.

fact that the movement's leaders considered their second advent preaching to be of unparalleled importance. Beside God's direct intervention in human history every contemporary concern paled into insignificance. The nearness of this climatic event was too great to permit even the most worthy of reforms from siphoning off energy from the urgency of warning the world of its end. A study of most published works on Millerism and even unpublished contributions reveals a surprising lack of work on social enthusiasm among the Millerites. The sensational side, dealing with the preparations for the dramatic event generally absorbed so much interest that the writers have tended to overlook this very important factor in Miller's revival: the leaders' efforts to assist the masses who suffered greatly from the many social evils in the Jacksonian era, when every man had to take care of himself or die.

V. "The Seventh-Month Movement" - Millerism's Waterloo

Millerism included a built-in explosive device, the dated Parousia, though it is only fair to remember that Miller did not set any exact "day" or "hour" for the second coming for many years. Millerism gradually became sectarian in character, especially from the time date setting was brought up: there must be a sharp distinction drawn between the saints and Laodicean Babylon. A dated Parousia served this purpose admirably. But when no appearance of Christ took place in 1843 Miller was forced to reconsider his calculations and extended the time limit to 21 March 1844 (42). This modification was based on a new assumption that the Parousia would take place during the "sacred Jewish year of 1843," which gave further evidence of Miller's theological naiveté as well as his understandable unwillingness to admit a major misunderstanding of his sources. At last, it is said, he arrived at a final suggestion, 18 April 1844 (43). When this time limit came and went without a visible appearance of Christ, Miller at last realized that he had made some fundamental error, and from this point Millerism took on a more radical and sectarian character. Miller then simply had to make way for new men who were not compromised by being associated with him in his discredited calculations.

For some reason Miller's being superseded seems to have been overlooked by historians. It is true that he continued to preach the more or less general expectation of an imminent parousia so far as his waning health permitted, but hazarded no further announcements of a specific

- (42) Nichol 1944, pp. 169-173.
- (43) Froom 1954, pp. 796, 797. Several of the Millerites rejected all time setting for the parousia and were satisfied to wait for an imminent Advent. Cf. Arthur 1970, pp. 31-34.

date (44). The refusal to admit the unscriptural and ultraistic practice to set dates for the Last Day not surprisingly isolated Millerites from the churches.

Millerism's first great disappointment naturally imposed a definite check on its general influence and seriously affected the morale of the rank and file. The confusion of Miller spelt the virtual end of the movement. No dated parousia meant no Millerism, for the dating of Christ's return was the revival's foremost claim to uniqueness, and during the summer of 1844 Millerism appeared to be on the verge of complete dissolution. For a time nobody had temerity or ingenuity enough to come up with a new date, while Miller's prestige suffered badly. Later Millerites referred to this traumatic twilight of the revival as "the slumbering time" (45). However, at this point Millerism might easily have changed its character and become another sizeable "non-sectarian" American apocalyptic denomination, the dated Parousia being substituted for the indistinct "imminent" advent.

The moment of awakening came in August 1844 and the stirring took place at Exeter, New Hampshire. There two new authorities put their heads together, one a Congregationalist, Samuel Sheffield Snow, and the other a former Methodist, George Storrs (46), and launched the final phase of the undivided Millerite movement. In this so-called Seventh Month Movement Miller was relegated to a secondary position. The Seventh Month movement derived its name from the calculation of Samuel Snow that the Parousia would take place on the tenth day of the seventh month, the Jewish month Tishri, which was said to have some connexion with the 22nd October. Snow concluded that the 2300 days of the 8th chapter of Daniel would end at that date, and it was always Miller's contention that the end of this "prophetic" period would mark the end of the world. Snow and Storrs based their new date for the ending of the 2300 days on considerable study of the Jewish and "Karaites" calendars (48) and on extensive examination of Old Testament "types" found in Scriptural references to the Jewish liturgical year and Yom Kippur or the atonement (49). The Millerites were then ready to welcome a new "new light" that might promise them further hope and accordingly hailed the new date at their camp-meeting with tremendous enthusiasm (50). Only thus can the immediate success of the new time movement be understood.

(44) Rowe 1974, pp. 236-238. Nichol 1944, ch. 14.

(45) Froom 1954, p. 786. The term was apologetical.

(46) *Ibm*, pp. 801-809. Both men, and especially S. S. Snow, were ultraistic radicals. Cf. Arthur 1970, ch. 3. SDAE 1966, pp. 1202, 1263, 1264.

(47) Froom 1954, pp. 799-816.

(48) *Ibm*, pp. 813, 814.

(49) E. g. Lev., ch. 16, 23 and Ezra 7.

(50) James White 1868, pp. 160, 161.

Exeter marked a turning point in Millerism. The ascendance of Snow and Storrs was proof of an increased awareness among the Millerites as to their separate identity. From this time on they cut their connexions with the "nominal churches" in greater numbers and the churches responded by firmly repudiating this more extreme Millerite position (51). It was Charles Fitch who led the way in sounding the separatist cry in his printed sermon "Come out of her my People" published in 1843 (52). Thus the tendency within Millerism went from separatism to a radical sectarian typus; what started as an inter-church revival ended as a radical revival with ultraistic trends. The opposite development is no doubt more common in the religious world (53).

Nevertheless the more distinct profile appealed to some of the saints. Fitch was an untiring and very successful propagandist for Millerism and won to its ranks the adherence of people like Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Palmer, later to play an outstanding part in the impressive Holiness movement (54). This combination of excitement over an imminent advent with radical ideas about holiness led to left-wing Methodists attempting to achieve the ultimate in Biblical sanctification as a preparation for the coming Judgment. The increasingly radical climate of Millerism partly effected by the eclipse of Miller's ascendance caused the established churches to lose all interest in the movement and to warn their members against its unscriptural habit of setting times for the advent of Christ. It is therefore correct to state that Millerism in its last part, during the Seventh-Month movement, though still appealing to an impressive group of saints, consisted of adherents who were "come-outers." In the autumn of 1844 the Millerites had gone out of "Babylon" and received practically no welcome to the pulpits of any respectable church. As a matter of fact the Second Advent Associations met most characteristics of a sect.

It was at this time, too, that the Millerites took a special interest in the parable of the ten virgins (55) and discovered an esoteric and "prophetic" element in it. They saw in this parable a foreshadowing of their contemporary situation; they, the wise damsels, were ready to meet their Lord when the cry arose, but the rest of Christendom, the foolish ones, were unprepared for the Bridegroom (56). Accordingly the October date was pressed upon the churches as a vital point in religion. In fact, Snow eventually declared that rejection of his novel speculation meant eternal damnation, while accepting it would bring salvation. The ground was fast preparing for the widespread outbreak of fanaticism that came into the open after the passing of the fateful date in October.

(51) Cf. Arthur 1970, ch. 3-7. Rowe 1974, ch. 7-8.

(52) *The Second Advent of Christ*, Jul. 26, 1843.

(53) Niebuhr 1929.

(54) Froom 1954, p. 537.

(55) Mt. 25, 1-13. The prominent Millerite journal, the *Midnight Cry* derived its name from this passage.

(56) Froom 1954, pp. 816-822.

In spite of its slumbering time and the narrowing of its horizons Millerism was still capable of mobilising enough men and means to make America aware of its "testing truths," Daniel's "cleansing of the sanctuary," which to them meant the cataclysm of fire that was to accompany the parousia as an agent of cosmic cleansing on 22nd October. Millerite journals went up and down throughout the length and breadth of the land, and mass meetings multiplied in number and fervour. Every nerve was strained to warn all the churches of the United States, even as many as possible in Canada.

The meetings glowed incandescent with fervour and it would be incorrect to follow Nichol uncritically and contend that fanatical traits did not occur (57). Especially at the end of the short respite such large crowds attended some camp-meetings and other mass conventions that the preservation of complete order became a superhuman task (58). Moreover, the emotional component was an uncontrollable component in Millerite camp-meetings as well as in all revivalistic gatherings. This allowance being made, it is doubtful whether Millerite camp-meetings had more incidents of emotional excesses than other revival meetings (59). For we must not forget the intellectual fabric of Millerism, where the apocalyptic portrayals were supposed to prove that the last days had arrived (60). Miller and his associates laid far less stress on the emotional than for instance Peter Cartwright.

No historian has yet been able to give a very exact description of what the Millerites actually did on the critical October day. Adventist writers have emphasized the better side of the coin (61). Most students of this dramatic day, however, have been familiar with the many colourful, sensational stories about Millerite excesses, especially in the autumn of 1844 (62). Contemporary newspapers enjoyed a field day. Accounts of Millerites in white ascension robes climbing on to roof and tree tops to be first to greet their Lord and be caught up thence to heaven were naturally more than journalists in less careful days could resist, but historians like Newfon Everett Dick and Whitney R. Cross have established that these legends lack a reliable historical basis. Later than Dick, Francis D. Nichol, though by no means a disinterested authority, devoted several chapters to this charge (63). Cross sums up the situation as follows:

- (57) Nichol 1944, pp. 303-369.
- (58) Dick 1930, pp. 188, 189 et passim. Rowe 1974, pp. 228-250, 200-208.
- (59) Dick 1930, pp. 163-211. The only leader to be directly influenced by a tangible case of fanaticism was George Storrs. This refers to the pre-Disappointment phase.
- (60) Arthur 1970. Rowe 1974, chs. 2-3. Froom 1954, ch. 32. For EGW, White 1911, p. 401.
- (61) Froom 1954, pp. 822-826.
- (62) Cf. Endicott Sears 1924.
- (63) Nichol 1944, ch. 25-27.

"The legend which grows out of the careless folk taste for fun, color, and drama descends to us brimful of zestful humor at the expense of the Millerites. The extraordinary situation encouraged observers alien to the movement to let their imagination run riot. Conceiving what kinds of things they might choose to do with their last hours, they passed on these conceptions as good stories, which in time collected an aura of hoary respectability and served as the truth.

Thievery, murder, lasciviousness, and insanity; the preparation of ascension robes in such numbers as to boom the textile markets; gatherings in cemeteries... these indictments against Adventists, grown in folklore, have commonly been written into history without close examination" (64).

Some facts are indisputable. Bound together by the cords of their faith in Snow's unscriptural and illusory dating for the Parousia the Millerites moved on to their undoing as if under a hypnotic spell. Many had disposed of all their earthly possessions, so certain were they of the parousia. Farmers left their crops unharvested, some owners of businesses closed their shops "in honor of the King of kings" (65). No element of a mighty drama was lacking; near Miller's home in Hampton, a company gathered on a hill to salute their crowned Ruler (66). Perhaps some 50,000 hard core believers expected the last day in history on that dismal October day. The figure is of necessity uncertain in this revival, where the believers already had one foot inside the pearly gates. However, this we do know: Millerism was undoubtedly the most spectacular and impressive apocalyptic adventist revival in modern history.

Nichol contends that there was no tangible mental disturbance among Millerites in connection with the frustrating disappointments (67). When everything that has been written in this question has been examined, however, one clearly sees that after all even the reports in contemporary official reports are inadequate to prove anything with accuracy. In the first place the understanding of mental disease was so unsatisfactory more than a hundred years ago, that a modern examination of what they considered

- (64) Cross 1965, p. 305. Italics supplied.
- (65) Dick 1930, pp. 206-208. Washington Morse in RH, sep. 18, 1888, pp. 595, 596.
- (66) That place is called "Ascension Rock".
- (67) Nichol 1944, pp. 337-369. Corss 1965, p. 306, but cf. Dick 1930, pp. 163-167. Against N. Rowe referred to the report from one of America's pioneering psychiatrists in Utica, N.Y., Pliny Earle. Cf. Rowe 1974, pp. 201-205.

causes of insanity is bound to disqualify the whole reasoning (68). Suffice it to say that the Millerites went through such severe trials after the October disappointment, that it is only logical to assume that many of them had nervous breakdowns after the event. It must also be noted that it has been unfruitful for the unprejudiced examination of the Millerite movement that such an enormous space has been devoted to the problem of fanaticism among the Millerites. Thus only a fraction of the vital problems has been discussed and the real character of the revival as such has been lost sight of.

Millerism expressed many different stimuli in the American Ante-Bellum society. Foremost it was an apocalyptic revival movement to be included within the wide sector of American Protestantism. It made use of conventional religious methods to attract and instruct the masses. Its rapid success was due to several factors: 1. the general, extraordinary interest in America for apocalyptic speculation; 2. the combination between the Apocalypse and conventional revivalism; 3. the pietistic-perfectionist factor, which appealed to many Christians; 4. Millerism was a Bible-centered religion, and offered an alternative to Deism and Universalism. The prophecies demonstrated that there was a God, who had revealed Himself in the Word. 5. The movement for many penniless Americans expressed their protest against social evil in a double meaning, partly by supporting radical reform ideas, partly by referring to the parousia as the final and lasting solution to all evils. The golden age or the millennium would solve all social problems at once by a divine fiat. 6. Miller was a poor promoter and administrator. That part, however, was adequately compensated by the capable "manager" Joshua V. Himes. He saw to it that all the available facilities were utilized for proclaiming Miller's ideas especially in the urban centers in New England. 7. Miller, like Finney, was a self-taught layman-preacher. That was important because Miller demonstrated the strength of Jackson's "common man". 8. Millerism thus appealed to several disparate groups, from the bleak proletariat to men with capital and influence. The inter-faith character of the movement prior to its time-traumatic experiences made it easy for heterogenous groups of Christians to sympathize with Miller. This writer therefore considers Millerism a variant form of American Protestantism and not a "bizarre cult." Millerism was a typical Ante-Bellum American apocalyptic revival.

- (68) The writer has found accounts suggesting that such disparate things as masturbation, the use of tobacco or snuff, exposure to cold, influenza or asthma, rheumatism or hard labor were enumerated as causes of mental illness, apart from the religious factor. Cf. *The Lunatic Reports From Worcester*, Dec. 1, 1842, Nov. 30, 1843, pp. 17-25. Boston 1845. Cf. Rowe 1974, p. 203.

Under Himes it came close to denominationalism. It is tempting to speculate on the development, if Millerism had given up date-setting in the summer 1844, and had been comforted by settling down as a new sect with the advent near of the premillennial variety as a leading tenet. Since this did not happen with Snow as a new time prophet, Millerism failed to hold the interest it had so quickly won. After Miller came confusion and the demise of his interpretation of apocalyptic teaching. A kind of "deadly wound" was for a time given to all premillennial interpretation in America. To be sure the wound was healed, after Adventism had organized, but with the end of the Jacksonian era, Miller's system was no longer capable of exerting the same fascination. After the eclipse of Millerism, another school of prophetic interpretation, Darbyism, gradually rose to eminence and to the present day it stands forth as the prevailing apocalyptic system (69).

When the sun arose on the morning of 23 October 1844 it was once again evident that "of that day and hour knoweth no man." This marked the end of primitive Millerism; but it was only the beginning of its modern descendant: Adventism.

- (69) Sandeen 1970, ch. 3-4.

I. Primary Sources.

A. Millerite Documents: Manuscript Collections, Books and Hymnals

Aurora, Illinois

The Miller Papers, Adventual Collection. Phillips Library, Aurora College.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

The Advent Source Collection, James White Library, Heritage Room, Andrews University.

New York City

New York Public Library. (NPL)
Peterson's Adventist Source Collection.
Rare Book Room.
Shaker documents.
Millerite material.

B. Printed Sources.

1. Pamphlets

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- An Exposition of the Twenty-fourth of Matthew. Boston, Feb. 8, 1843. 69 pp.

- Exposition of Zechariah XIV. Boston, 1843. 12 pp.

- Inconsistencies of Colver's Literal Fulfilment of Daniel's Prophecy. Boston, Feb. 1, 1843. 53 pp.

- Review of Morris' "Modern Chiliasm: or the Doctrine of the Personal and Immortal Reign of Jesus Christ on the Earth, Commencing About A.D. 1843, as Advocated by William Miller, Refuted." Boston, Oct. 15, 1842. 179 pp. The most prevalent objections to Miller's apocalyptic views were contained in this pamphlet or book.

- Review of Rev. O. E. Daggett's Sermon of "Time of the End Uncertain." In the National Preacher of Dec., 1842. Boston, Jan. 14, 1843. 56 pp. Here the author tried to prove that the Scriptures support the Millerite assertion that the time for the end is revealed.

BROWN, F.G.: Views and Experience in Relation to Entire Consecration and the Second Advent: Addressed to the Ministers of the Portsmouth, N.H., Baptist Association. Boston, Apr. 25, 1843. 72 pp. This tract was typical of the many "appeals" Millerites sent to the leaders of Christian churches; this work is also valuable for its presentation of sanctification or the "holiness living" in Millerism.

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COX, G.F.: Letters on the Second Coming of Christ, and the Character of His Millennial Kingdom: Together With a Reply to the Objections and Arguments of Rev. D.D. Whedon. Boston, Apr. 23, 1842. 132 pp. The tract shows how several writers were engaged in the rebuttal of "charges" against the Millerites, and also how general the discussion was about the views of Miller in all kinds of churches. Defense of Elder Joshua V. Himes: (Publ. by Order of the Chardon Street Church) Boston, 1851. 268 pp. In this work, more a book than a pamphlet, Himes had an opportunity to defend himself against the many insinuations for dishonest dealing with the substantial funds he handled during the intensive period of the movement.

FITCH, CHARLES: "Come Out of Her, My People." Rochester, N.Y., 1843. 24 pp. A reprint of the concept of come-outism in the movement, as it was understood by the radicals.

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- Reasons for Withdrawing From the Newark Presbytery. Newark, N.J., 1840. 14 pp. This short pamphlet was published a short time after the previous "appeal." The tract shows that Fitch was a radical come-outer and a perfectionist.

- Views of Sanctification. Newark, N.J., 1839. 24 pp. This exposition was much more dignified than the later more or less polemical writing. However, F's views were the same: complete sanctification was possible in this life.

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- Slaveholding Weighed in the Balance of Truth, and Its Comparative

Guilt. Boston, 1837. 36 pp. A characteristic contribution to the radical immediatism of many Millerites.

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LITCH, JOSIAH: An Address to the Public, and Especially the Clergy, on the Near Approach of the Glorious Everlasting Kingdom of God on Earth, as Indicated by the Word of God, the History of the World, and the Signs of the Present Times. Boston, Jan. 29, 1842. 132 pp. L. Was one of the leading Millerites, a former Episcopal minister of New York City in the New England Methodist Conference. The extended title was typical for the ambitions of the Millerites to "enlighten" all Christendom in America with their apocalyptic beliefs. The allusion to "the History of the World," referred to the 6.000 year period, which was thought to expire in about 1843. A comparison between the writings of leading Millerites shows several individual differences.

- Dialogue on the Nature of Man, His State in Death, and the Final Doom of the Wicked. Philadelphia, n.a. Like most Millerites L. supported the conventional ideas about the unconditional immortality of the soul and eternal torments for the "wicked" in hell.

- Refutation of "Dowling's Reply to Miller," on the Second Coming of Christ in 1843. D. was another opposing Baptist and probably the most energetic critic of Millerism. Proceedings of the Mutual Conference of Adventists, Held in the City of Albany the 29th and 30th of April, and 1st of May, 1845. New York, n.a. (Proceedings 1845.) Second Advent Library. This term was used

to denote perhaps fifty different items, mostly pamphlets written by leading Millerites; but several works were written by other Christian group before the rise of Millerism. The term could also be used for several reading centers for the public at the height of the revival. Second Advent Tracts. Nos. 1-12 available in the Peterson Advent Source Coll. NPL New York City. These publications are highly important for the history of the two first so called General Conference of the Millerites. No. 7.

History and Doctrine of the Millennium, by Henry Dana Ward, Boston, 1840, 74 pp. is particularly important. W. was Episcopalian rector in New York City. Whiting, N.N.

Origin, Nature and Influence of Neology. Boston, Mar. 1, 1844. 51 pp. This tract was written by another cultivated defender of Millerism, W. was a Baptist scholar and social reformer, a specialist in Greek and Hebrew. In this essay he attacked German rationalism, which rejected the literalist view of Daniel.

2. Hymnals

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many different components in the movement. The background is less thorough as is the discussion of the emergence of the SDA Church, where R. was led astray by following a German ex-Adventist, L. R. Conradi.

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Chapter Two

FROM DISAPPOINTMENT TO ORGANIZATION

I. October 23 and the Albany Conference

The historian and scientists have a good reason to examine how it happened that the impressive Millerite revival suddenly collapsed as a united group in October 1844, when it had survived several minor disappointments in 1843 and 1844. The question crops up: why this vehement negative reaction to the October events? The informed student well knows that there had been a certain amount of ambiguity in all the previous time calculations for the parousia. Miller had only suggested an approximate terminus for the event. When these suggestions proved false, some layman theologians were ready to revise the dates and look for biblical evidence for a more reliable date. Thus when Miller had to give up his apocalyptic time calculations in the summer of 1844, Snow was positive and suggested that October 22 was the time for the Last Day in history. If 457 B.C. was to remain as the correct terminus a quo for the so called 2,300 days, the fateful October day meant a turning point in the many efforts to determine the time for the second coming. If the "correct" date for the parousia in spite of all efforts turned out to be an inglorious failure, however, nothing remained for the group but despair, confusion and frustration (1). With the October crisis the Millerite movement also saw its end as an influential united revival. For, when October 23 arrived, the movement was disgraced, and with it the pre-millennial theory lost much of its former appeal among the churches. But on the ruins of Miller's movement new views of *ta eschata*, different apocalyptic systems arose, the foremost of which was Darby's Dispensationalism. October 22, therefore, served as a great divide in American millenarianism. In this chapter the complicated situation among Miller's adherents after the disappointment will be studied with special reference to the Sabbatarian branch. No thorough study has been published for this period.

The effect of the Great Disappointment has been studied to some extent by a group of American psychologists (2). They claim that individuals like the hard-core Millerites, who had "invested" everything in a religious idea, tend to be most unwilling to give up faith in the tenets of the leaders. For a long time apparently negative evidence is likely even to increase the group's devotion to a faulty view. But there is a limit to that attitude. Beyond the critical point, so the psychologists state, even the most convinced believers have to admit that they have been mistaken (3). If the psychologists had had a better insight in the aftermath of Millerism, however, some additional observations could have been made for the period. Leon Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory is undoubtedly fruitful for

- (1) Festinger, Riecken, Schachter, 1956, Several Millerites were apprehended after the October events and set to work in "jail-workhouses." Cf. James White in Day-Star, Sept. 6, 1845, p. 1. Morse in RH, Sep. 1888, p. 596.
- (2) Cf. Festinger, Riecken, Schachter 1956, pp. 3-18.
- (3) *Ibm*, pp. 3-12, 22, 23.

the interpretation of the years 1845-ca. 1851, as well as Richard S. Lazarus' so called coping process theory (4).

In the annals of church history we find several parallels to the bitter disappointment of the Millerites. In the Middle Ages apocalyptic studies flourished among certain dissident groups in the Roman Catholic Church, especially among the radical Franciscans (4a). Likewise in the turbulent years of the Reformation in the sixteenth century and in England during the Civil Wars 1642-1660, a great many attempts were made to determine the time of the millennium (5). More close in time to Miller's disappointment in 1844 is, of course, J. A. Bengel's famous date of 1836 in Pietist Germany. In recent times, Russel's 1914 comes handy as an excellent parallel to Miller's time failure (6). Finally in Denmark the Orton craze caused some stir in this respect only a few years ago (7).

Needless to say, Miller was severely tempted after the October events. For a short time, however, he could console his harassed soul by the thought that the gospel age had ended, and that the parousia, though delayed, awaited around the corner (8).

Preserved correspondence demonstrates that Miller believed in a "shut door" several years before the second advent time failure (9). It was, therefore, only natural for him to continue and hold on to that dismal notion for some months after the disappointment.

The inglorious outcome of the October time caused severe problems, however, particularly for the hard-core Millerites, who refused to admit the mistake. Heckled and scorned by the world at large, the Millerites could not find a way out of the dilemma. They then experienced "the scattering time", as they themselves phrased it. For all practical purposes it is helpful to work with two contrasting sections of Millerites, besides some insignificant sub-groups (9a). In the majority camp there were some scholars and the former dominant leaders, such as William Miller, Joshua V. Himes, Dr. N. N. Whiting, Elon Galusha, Josiah Litch and Lorenzo Fleming. In the minority camp were found the proponents of the

- (4) Festinger 1957, Ibm 1964. Lazarus 1966. Cf. Källstadt 1974, pp. 28-37.
- (4a) For Joachim of Fiore, cf. Reaves 1960, ch. 6; for Savonarola, e.g. Holmquist-Nørregaard 1946, pp. 551-556.
- (5) Williams 1962, passim. Ball 1975, pp. 157-192.
- (6) R. contended that 1874 and 1914 were the "correct" years for the end of the time. Russel 1913, p. 149. Cf. Martin 1968, pp. 34-110. There has been a drive for time setting for the parousia or its immediate events also among Pentecostal churches. Cf. Claeson 1953.
- (7) Ljungdahl 1970, pp. 141-148.
- (8) The Advent Herald, Dec. 11, 1844, p. 142. Italics supplied.
- (9) Arthur 1970, pp. 91-101.
- (9a) Ibm, p. 128.

the radical shut door doctrine (9b). Some sounder men such as N. N. Whiting and J. V. Himes gradually talked Miller out of that concept (10).

The so called moderate Millerites made arrangements for an important conference to be held at Albany, New York, at the end of April 1845 (11).

There were three main objectives for that conference: 1. to define the doctrinal position; 2. to investigate how the believers were faring, when many of them had sacrificed all their resources to the movement; 3. how to deal with the extremists, such as the shut door radicals (12).

Miller personally filled no prominent position in those deliberations, but took part in the discussions and addressed the delegates (13). Most delegates came from the coastal states, but Maine was not represented, probably because of the common manifestations of ultraism in that region. The founders of Sabbatarian Adventism, Joseph Bates and James White ignored the invitation to Albany (14).

Nevertheless, the Albany Conference, was the most important gathering of Millerites directly after the Disappointment, and it was intended to unite the moderates and help preserve the "original Advent faith" in the imminent parousia, except for attempts at time setting (15).

The reports from the delegates reveal how bewildered the Millerites were after the October events. A. M. Osgood from New Hampshire described the inroads of fanaticism in his home state (16). He had noted grave

- (9b) *Infra*, pp. 8-21.
- (10) *Proceedings of the Mutual Conference of Adventists Held in the City of Albany. The 29th and 30th of April and 1st of May 1845.* Publ. by Joshua Himes in 1845. Hereafter quoted as *Proceedings 1845*. The term "moderate Adventists" is of course a somewhat value-laden designation and both Arthur and Froom make use of it for different groups. Froom 1954, p. 832. Arthur 1970, ch. 4. For Miller's attitude to the shut door theology, cf. Rowe 1974, pp. 272-277.
- (11) *Proceedings 1845*.
- (12) Ibm
- (13) Ibm
- (14) Arthur 1970, pp. 129-140. Nichol 1944, pp. 280-283. The role of James White in the Millerite movement has been judged differently by different people. If the autobiography of J. W. is correct, White played a prominent part in Millerism. James White 1868, pp. 72-120. Acc. to non-Sabbatarian-Adventist scholars J. W. has been confused with another James White, who was influential. Statement by Dr. David Arthur, Aurora College, Aurora, Ill., Dec. 4, 1973.
- (15) Arthur 1970, pp. 129-140. This term is somewhat puzzling, for what was Millerism without the time-element?
- (16) *Proceedings 1845*.

aberrations from a normal social behaviour and how the influence of ultraistic views had choked the preaching of the Gospel. Osgood's report is of special interest, since the Sabbatarian branch had its origin in this part of the United States.

The importance of the Albany Conference has recently been assessed by Dr. David Arthur (17). He notices four main results of the gathering:

1. The moderate element in Adventism was strengthened;
2. some of the leaders who had been sympathetic towards new and unorthodox ideas rejected the ultraistic speculations and returned to the "original Advent faith;"
3. Albany gave the lead to the best men or the scholars and trained preachers;
4. the Conference sharpened the divisions among Adventists and made them permanent (18).

In addition to Arthur's vital observations this writer would like to make some additional remarks:

1. The Albany Conference condemned belief in new "tests" as condition of ultimate salvation. Prominent samples of such teachings were for example "Promiscuous feet-washing" and the "salutation kiss." Millerites outside the Albany Conference defended such tests as Bible commands and made them prominent.
2. The moderate Millerites also rejected the novel Sabbath doctrine, that had begun to cause some disturbance in the group. This could perhaps be seen from the Albany resolution to have "no fellowship with Jewish fables and commandments of man, that turn from the truth, or for any of the distinctive characteristics of modern Judaism" (19). Most likely, however, this statement refers to popular views in nineteenth century America as to the restoration of the Jews in Palestine, and only in a secondary sense the phrase seems to apply to Sabbatarian, i.e. Saturday-keeping Adventists.
3. A direct warning was issued against the many "charismatic" messengers on the left flank. This part in the resolution is so detailed that it merits quotation: "That we have no confidence in any new messages, visions, dreams, tongues, miracles, extraordinary revelations, impressions, discerning of spirits, or teachings not in accordance with the unadulterated word of God" (20). Such a negative attitude to charisma was in harmony with the strict sola Scriptura principle, which has guided Evangelical Protestantism since its formation on the Continent.

(17) Arthur 1970.

(18) *Ibm*, pp.137-139.

(19) Proceedings 1845. In the first place the resolution referred to post-millennialism and the return of Jews to Palestine. Cf. Rowe 1974, pp.277-278.

(20) Proceedings 1845. Italics added.

The arbitrary interpretation of charisma struck a heavy blow against the "free spirits" on Miller's left flank, including the young rising charismatic star among Sabbatarian Adventists: Ellen Harmon-White from Portland, Maine (21).

The permanent divisions among the former Millerites were caused by divisive doctrines. There were some eschatological problems which puzzled the moderates. George Storrs, who had defended the October date in a whole-hearted way prior to the failure, afterwards denied the validity of that idea as firmly as he had supported it before. The same Storrs devoted a great deal of his energy to the formulation of a "novel" view (22) of anthropology-eschatology and declared man to be a mortal being in toto and wholly dependant on Christ for eternal life. There was accordingly no burning hell, where sinners would be plagued throughout eternity. Life eternal was presented to the victorious Christians as a free gift at the Parousia. This important view was later known as conditional immortality, or simply as conditionalism (23). Storrs' view, not original with him in the United States, was too much to stomach for Miller and most other Evangelicals, who were used to preaching salvation and eternal bliss against the silhouette of a hell with eternally burning fire and brimstone. Mainly due to conditionalism, the Sunday keeping Millerites later split into two major groups: The Evangelical Adventists and the Advent Christian Church. The "original Advent faith" was best preserved in the first group, where Miller's teachings lived on. The Evangelical Adventists gradually became a peaceful, tolerant denominational - like groups and had great difficulty in mustering anything of striking importance to build up a separate group. They also died out by 1916. The only institutionalized Sunday keeping Adventist denomination to remain and flourish into the present day is the Advent Christian Church with its approximately 30 000 members in America (24). There were also some small sects which originated in the wake of the eschatological discussions on the nature of man. George Storrs formed a sect of his own in The Life and Advent Union. This happened in 1863, the same year Sabbatarian Adventists organized their General Conference (25). The most influential Adventist group, in time to reach the utmost corners of the globe, arose on the left flank.

(21) Cf. ch. 3-4.

(22) Actually "Conditionalism" is an old view. Cf. Gelder 1961, pp.35-157.

(23) The best systematic scholarly treatment of this idea has been written by Dr. M.C.Crouse at Aurora College, Aurora, Ill. See Crouse 1953. Other vital contributions have been made by SDA writers, cf. Froom 1965, Zurcher 1969.

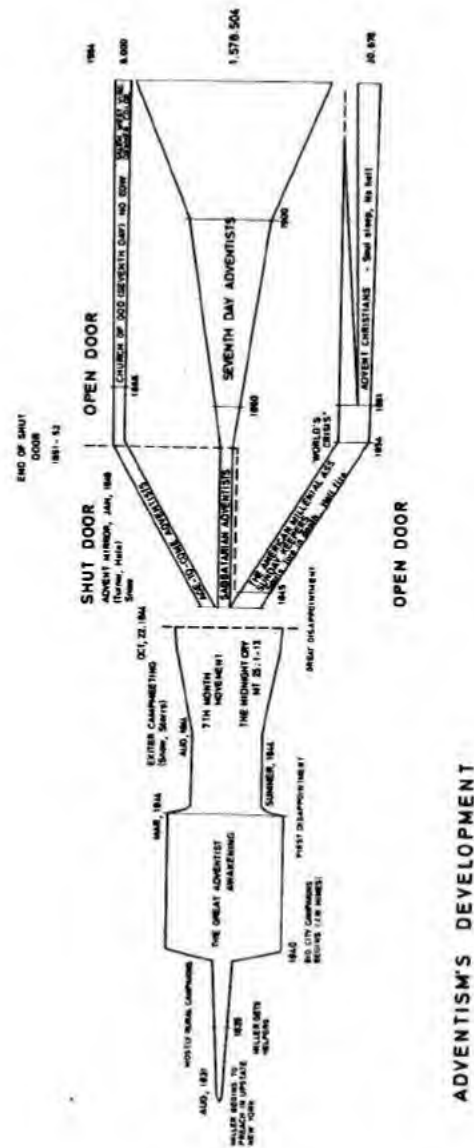
(24) Cf. Arthur 1970.

(25) Below, pp. (48-65)

The insignificant independent journals published by Millerites is the best historical witness as to the development. The Day-Star, edited by Enoch Jacobs at Cincinnati, Ohio, The Hope of Israel and Hope Within the Veil, both papers from Maine, contain a great deal of first hand information. In addition to these journals there is the collection of journals edited by the moderates. The Morning Watch and the Advent Herald belong to this category. In the first group it is not difficult to find examples of eschatological paranoia, as David Arthur so aptly puts it (27).

It stands to reason that there were many disagreements and theological differences among the individualistic radicals. Some of them were so called spiritualizers, who claimed that the parousia had already taken place, albeit in an invisible way. This allegorical hermeneutic was employed by the "shut door people." Some of them looked to Jerusalem and to the expected renewal of the Jews as the momentum to inaugurate the millennium. Those adventists were known as Age-to-Come people. The spiritualizers revealed a jocund spirit, believing that they were already in the Kingdom. They therefore ceased to work and some of them lined up with "spiritual" wives. Along with such gross aberrations went less offensive practices such as promiscuous feet-washing and the "kiss": to "salute the holy brethern with a holy kiss." The biblical command was

- (26) Quoted in Arthur 1970, p. 129.
- (27) Arthur commented: "Changing its name to *The Day-Star*, The paper increasingly became the mouthpiece of fanatical views. Soon it joined the *Hope of Israel*, the *Hope Within the Veil*, the *Voice of the Fourth Angel*, and *The Jubilee Standard* (Snow's paper), and eventually exceeded them all for novelty of viewpoint."
- Arthur 1970, p. 111. Italics supplied. The *Day-Star* was also eagerly studied by the Sabbatarian fathers.



reinterpreted to give also the sisters a right to welcome the brethren with the kiss. They claimed to have found "proof texts" for the novel custom in the Bible (28).

The researcher may find some consolation in the fact that in a relatively short time the extremists burned themselves up in the flames of fanaticism. A key concept in the tiny radical groups on Miller's protesting left was the gloomy shut door theory. Since this conception in a radically revised form still occupies a central place in official Sabbatarian Adventism, in the concept of the so called investigative judgement in the heavenly sanctuary, the non-Adventist reader should understand the importance this view holds for them and try to be patient with some detailed information.

As has been alluded to above this idea about the end of salvation for the "ungodly" and the "nominal" churches was for a time held by many Millerites outside the few hard-core believers (29). Shut Door originally meant two things which were inseparable: 1. October 22, 1844 was the only "correct" terminus for Daniel's 2300 "years." "Prophecy had been fulfilled" on that day with far-reaching consequences for mankind; 2. a drastic reduction of the possibility of salvation for sinners and "nominal" Christians. Referring to Mt. 25, the defenders of the view held that the "door" had been shut (30). Christ had "come" as Bridegroom and both the churches and the world were doomed forever with very few exceptions. Matthew twenty-five is therefore the basic foundation for all the speculations about the shut door concept. As was typical in many primitive Christians in America, the Millerites read their own history into such biblical passages. Thus Matthew 25 was misunderstood to be a "prophetic" description of their own situation. The apocalyptic dates for the parousia were rearranged to suit new interpretations. This method is a common feature in most apocalyptic movements with prophets and visionaries to interpret the Bible as for example Sven Göransson of Uppsala, Sweden has observed (30a).

(28) Arthur 1970, pp. 120-122. White 1860, pp. 40-43. Julia Neuffer "The Gathering of Israel." Duplicated study for Biblical Research Comm., of General Conf. of SDA, August 1970. N. covered the divisions of the opposing Millerites, but she did not analyse the meaning and prevalence of the "shut-door" idea; and the attitude of EGW was not discussed.

(29) Cf. above pp. 80-83.

(30) The parable of the ten virgins played a central role in the last part of Miller's and Snow's time movement, also in the so called Seventh Month movement. One of the most circulated Millerite journals, The Midnight Cry, received its name from the same parable.

(30a) Sven Göransson 1956, p. 49.

The radical Millerites of the shut door persuasion held that all Christians had to accept their interpretation of the crucial October date, if they had had a real possibility to get acquainted with it.

Shut Door was, therefore, directly tied to Snow's October date. The first presentation of the topic was given in a single issue of a journal called the Advent Mirror (31). The publishers, two former Millerite preachers, Joseph Turner from Ellen White's Portland, Maine, and Apollos Hale from the same province, were the co-authors (32). Turner was a close friend of the Harmons (33). The main burden of the paper was to present a novel interpretation of the October failure. The essay was called "Has not the Saviour Comes as the Bridegroom?" and was based on the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25 (34).

Christ had "come", the writers contended, albeit not in the sense the Millerites had expected. Instead of a literal second coming on October 22, Christ had entered within the veil of the heavenly sanctuary to prepare his descent to the earth, an event which was imminent. What this new event signified Turner and Hale could not state in detail, but they remarked: "The coming of the bridegroom would point out some change of work or office, on the part of our Lord in the invisible world... With him it is within the veil - where he has gone to prepare a place for us; with them (the "shut door Millerites") it is outside the veil, where they are to wait and keep themselves ready till they pass into the marriage supper." (34a) The parable of the ten virgins echoes in these speculations; the Advent Mirror links Shut Door to the idea of a sanctuary in heaven.

The alleged change in God's relation to mankind in October 1844 led to the dismal belief that the masses from that time onwards lived outside the pale of salvation. That was the so called "rejection theory." Because most people paid no attention to the October date, God had left them to perish, they claimed. The conversions reported to occur in the churches after October 1844 were accordingly no stirrings by the Holy Spirit, but the results of spurious revivals. The only thing that remained for believers in the "remnant" then was to concentrate their energy on the perfection of their own souls (35).

Turner's and Hale's theological "test balloon" turned out to be "meat in season" for many puzzled Millerites outside the "moderate" camp. The

(31) The Advent Mirror, Jan. 1845. Printed in Portland, Me.

(32) Apollos Hale had been a Methodist minister.

(33) Cf. White to Joseph Bates, July 13, 1847. WEA, Wash. D.C.

(34) The Advent Mirror, Jan. 1845. Italics added.

(34a) Ibid. Italics added.

(35) Ibid

most illustrious advocates of Shut Door, however, were not Turner and Hale, but Samuel S. Snow and Burnett Matthias, editors of the Jubilee Standard. With these men Shut Door was turned into a *conditio sine qua non* for ultimate salvation (36).

b. Shut Door and the Sabbatarian Pioneers

The shut door concept was for a time shared by many Millerites and had its stronghold among radicals outside of the moderate adventists of the Albany Conference. As will be shown later none defended this persuasion so firmly and so long as the founders of the S. D. A. Church. This writer can observe three reasons for this development. 1. Snow's promulgation of Shut Door must have exerted a strong influence on the Sabbatarian pioneers, since this prestigious leader was the originator of the "Seventh Month Movement"; 2. EGW's forceful support for the same view, which will be demonstrated below, was another important factor to Sabbatarian adventists; 3. Joseph Bates and James White both communicated with Snow after the October disappointment (37).

James White most likely received his initial enlightenment on Shut Door from reading the Advent Mirror (38). In an early publication he remarked: "From the ascension, to the shutting of the door, Oct. 1844, Jesus stood with widespread arms of love and mercy; ready to receive,

- (36) S. and his co-editor, Barnett Matthias declared: "Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Captain of our Salvation, is speedily coming to deliver his willing, waiting people, . . . Yet a few days of more trial, and of patient waiting and our ravished eyes shall behold the King in his beauty. . . . With those who do not believe this great and glorious truth, we have nothing now to do. Our work with them is done. A wicked world, (cf. EGW in her first vision!) and a corrupt, apostate world-loving church, no longer share our sympathies our labors, or our prayers. Their doom is sealed and it is just. . . . They have rejected the world's last warning - - - the true Midnight Cry, and God has rejected them." The quotation expresses the nucleus of the whole "rejection theology" to which also EGW subscribed. Quoted in the Morning Watch, Mar. 29, 1845, p. 94, as in Arthur 1970, p. 106. Italics supplied.
- (37) James White to the Hastings, Aug. 26, 1848. WEA, Washington D.C.
- (38) DS, Sep. 20, 1845, p. 26.

and plead the cause of every sinner, who would come to God by him" (39).

Evangelical Christians would undoubtedly shudder at those statements, but to Millerites on the left flank this view was "meat in due season." With insignificant modification White defended this idea to the end of the shut door period, some time in 1851 (40).

At least by 1846 Joseph Bates, the former sea captain from Fairhaven, Mass. and intrepid protagonist of the "Bible Sabbath", had become one of the shut door radicals. In a dedication of an early EGW vision he declared that the Millerites of his persuasion had for ever "closed up" their "work for the world" as from Oct. 1844 (41). Bates likewise preserved those shut door notions until about 1851. Time and again he and several others in the Sabbatarian camp, and also elsewhere, expected the end of time. His 1849 pamphlet carried the telling title "A Seal of the Living God. Hundred Forty-Four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed, in 1849" (42). Despite the fact that these believers numbered only a hundred souls, Bates and his fellow-believers had no real difficulties in seeing the 144 000 sealed that year. Recourse to the allegorical hermeneutics solved that problem to the satisfaction of Bates and others. Bates' convictions about the end of time in 1849 could very well have been strengthened by a vision by EGW in January that same year, when she had seen that Jesus' ministration in heaven "was nearly finished, and that time could last but a little longer" (43).

The importance of Shut Door, Bates continued that "the present truth . . . is the Shut Door, and the 7th day Sabbath." Or this rendering: "The Shut Door and Sabbath, then, are the two prominent marks by which they (the Sabbath and shut door brethren) are known" (44). In another pamphlet Bates frankly stated that the "world" (roughly non-Millerite Christians) had no Mediator after October 22, 1844. The situation for the "world" was, therefore, hopeless, with a Christ, who had "withdrawn himself into the holiest" (45).

- (39) WLF 1847, pp. 2, 3. Italics supplied. The same concept, about the end of mercy for the world, did J. W. express in 1848, when he complained that it was useless to strive for the salvation of the denominations after Christ had "left the throne". J. W. to the Hastings, Aug. 26, 1848. WEA, Washington D.C.
- (40) We do not know the exact day when the Whites abandoned their shut door view, but the deletions in the early visions, completed by September 1851 mark a clear line of transition.
- (41) A Vision, Apr. Broadside. 1847. Topsham, Me. Bates most likely received his shut door views from Turner and Snow. Cf. Arthur 1970, p. 113.
- (42) Bates 1849.
- (43) To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God. Broadside, Topsham, Me., Jan. 31, 1849.
- (44) Bates 1849, pp. 54-57. Italics added.
- (45) Bates 1850, pp. 10-13. B. wrote in capital letters: "The Present Truth" of the third angel's message is "THE SABBATH AND SHUT DOOR." p. 16.

In the critical year of 1849 another Sabbatarian pioneer, the farmer-preacher Hiram Edson of Port Gibson, N.Y. issued his shut door contribution. Edson believed that time could not last longer than "the 10th day of the 7th month, 1849" (46), or in more secular terms, Christ was to return to earth before October 22, 1849.

On EGW's direct prodding James White in 1849 launched a tiny journal, called the *Present Truth*. As the title suggests, the paper was established to promote the shut door idea and the (Saturday) Sabbath (47), or the idea of keeping the day of rest from sunset Friday to sunset Saturday in harmony with "the commandment." The *Present Truth* ran for eleven issues and was replete with articles on the important adventist separatist theology, including several visions by EGW. In this special shut door journal there appeared prestigious articles as to the understanding of the October events. David Arnold, another farmer-preacher (48), and most likely James White himself (49), penned new interpretations of Daniel 8, 13-14. In these articles Shut Door in its original double sense was reinforced by a novel understanding of the term "the sanctuary" in Daniel. No longer did these writers follow Miller's old view of the earth as the sanctuary; now it always meant a place in heaven (50). And the meaning of Shut Door became twofold. In the first place there had occurred an important change in Christ's relation to the "world" as from October 22, 1844. For since that date Christ's ministry for mankind had ceased; he had "withdrawn himself" into the Most Holy Place as a High Priest. And, secondly, a special "atonement" had begun to benefit only the "remnant." The implication of this was very clear (51); the "day of probation" had ended for the "world" at large. Such speculations were of utmost importance to the shut door Sabbatarians, when the time came even for them to discard the second part of this notion. The Shut Door was then transformed into a new doctrine, the uniquely S.D.A. teaching of the "investigative judgement", or a pre-Advent-Doom in session as from October 22, 1844.

(46) Edson 1849, p. 15.

(47) J.W. told some close friends: "The principle points on which we dwell as present truth are the 7th Day Sabbath and Shut Door". James White to Bro. and Sr. Hastings, Oct. 2, 1848. WEA. Wash. D.C.

(48) *Present Truth*, Dec. 1849, pp. 41-46. *Ibm*, Mar. 1850, pp. 59-63.

(49) *Ibm*, May 1850, pp. 75-79.

(50) *Ibm*

(51) This letter was discovered by book editor Merwin R. Thurber of the *Review and Herald Publ. Ass.* Washington D.C. who in his turn had received the letter from a certain Mr. E. Holmes, Mulberry P.O. Clearmont County, Ohio. The discovery was made in 1975. See William Miller to Holmes, Nov. 22, 1844, as printed in *RH*, Apr. 15, 1976, pp. 4-6

In this way a new aggressive denomination was born on the ruins of the disappointment (52).

In May 1850 an anonymous writer reinforced the previous shut door theology in *Present Truth* (53). The last major campaign for Shut Door took place in September the same year, when James White and four other prominent Sabbatarian pioneers reissued articles written by Miller and his associates in immediate connection with the disappointment, before they had definitely rejected the whole notion of the October date and Shut Door. Since James White and his co-editors still believed in the shut door view in 1850, they did not consider those articles erroneous. Only in 1853 James White did write a postscript to the 48-page *Advent Review Extra* in which he made it clear, that he no longer believed in Shut Door (54).

In the autumn of 1850, however, the "door" was no longer absolutely shut to everybody, outside the insignificant limits of former Millerites. The "door of grace" had opened up a little bit and stood somewhat ajar to the world. But the difference was not great after all and there was still definitely a shut door to the "world" at large (55). We quote a central passage:

"At the end of the 2,300 days, our high priest bore into the most holy, on the breast plate of judgment, all who were within the reach of salvation. And among those that were borne in, I believe, were some that had not had the light on the second advent doctrine, and had not rejected it, but were living to the best light they had. And I believe also, that there were others who had a sacred reverence for God and his word, and had his fear before their eyes, yet they made no profession of religion, or of conversion, but in the sight of God who sees not as man sees, they were much nearer a state of justification before God, than very many who made a great profession of religion. Again, children who had not arrived to years of accountability were born on the breast plate of judgment." (56)

(52) *Ibm*

(53) Cf. *Present Truth*, May 1850, pp. 75-79.

(54) The loose leaf in the 1853 edition of the *Advent Review* special reprint, where J.W. deplored the "exclusive, and unexplained" views of writers such as Crosier and J.B. Cook.

(55) Cf. Oosterveld 1972, p. 24.

(56) *Advent Review Extra*, Sep. 1850, p. 3. Italics supplied.

Such tentative reasoning is typical of the transition between two opinions; for only some months later Shut Door turned into the Open Door, or into the orthodox idea of salvation for everybody. But still Shut Door notions remained in force until 1851-1852.

There is an interesting development in the understanding of Shut Door from the early Turner-Hale Advent Mirror article to that of Snow's and the Sabbatarian adventist brethren's completion of the view to mean 1. end of salvation to the "world", and 2. Christ's final ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, which must be cleansed from the sins of the "remnant." But it is important to observe that this theology, which was based on the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25, to the end preserved the idea of a drastic reduction in the chances of eternal bliss for the world. As an adventist Sabbatarian phrased it in 1850: "When we came up to that point of time (Oct. 1844) all our sympathy, burden and prayers for sinners ceased, and the unanimous (57) feeling and testimony was, that our work for the world was finished forever."

Shut Door, which cut across all basic gospel preaching, was after all a rather natural concept for sincere Millerite "timists." In fact, it contained the rationale of the whole apocalyptic revival. October 22, 1844 and the Sabbath helped to organize still another sect in the New World, much thanks to Crosier's sanctuary theology.

It only remains to examine how the "charismatic" witness, EGW, related to Shut Door.

c. EGW and Shut Door

Adventist historians without exception maintain, that the founders of the S.D.A. Church for several years, until about 1851, believed in the shut door notion (58). This agreement, however, refers only to the position of the Sabbatarian brethren, not to EGW. So far, all official S.D.A. publications have maintained the position that the only exception among the founders was EGW. Adventist historians, and especially F.D. Nichol, have denied that she ever supported the "erroneous" shut door question in any vision. In order to prove this point Nichol devoted approximately one fourth of the contents in his book *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (59). This circumstance demonstrates the need among some Adventist leaders to declare EGW non guilty in the "trial", or to show that she, even if alone, never gave way for any heretical teaching in her divinely inspired

(57) *Present Truth*, May 1850, p.79. Emphasis supplied.

(58) Nichol 1951, pp.176-185. Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White and the Shut Door Question*, Nov.10 1971, pp.3-10. Duplicated, WEA. Wash. D.C.

(59) Nichol 1951, pp.161-266.

office as prophet to the remnant. But critics and some historians have stated that EGW definitely shared the shut door view of her senior brethren (59a). Such facts demonstrate how controversial this topic is. There are several published and unpublished EGW documents available for the period 1845-1851, which we shall examine. The oldest printed document appeared in the beginning of 1846 and contained EGW's first vision after the Disappointment (60). The important communication was published in Enoch Jacobs' shut door journal, the *Day-Star*, much to the surprise of EGW (61). In this article EGW emphatically defended the validity of Snow's October time calculation. On the position to this date, she remarked, depended the ultimate salvation of the believers. Those who for some reason rejected the October time movement must share the hopeless end of the "wicked world which God had rejected" (62). It is, indeed, difficult to deny that EGW was a believer in Shut Door at that time.

In the same vision EGW also supported a view, much cherished by her brethren on Miller's left, viz. that God himself would very soon vindicate the scarred reputation of the Millerites, when he would proclaim even "the day and hour of Jesus' coming" (63). The apocalyptic text in the synoptic gospels, however, do tell us about the surprise nature of the Parousia (64).

EGW's second contribution to Shut Door was her revelation in February 1845. In abbreviated form this view was printed in April 1846 (65). In connection with a cottage meeting with the small "Advent band" in the

(59a) The first known critic to raise the question was evidently a Sabbatarian adventist by the name of R. R. Chapin. He opposed EGW's course *inter alia* in reference to Shut Door in 1854. Cf. RH, Aug. 22, 1854. Another known critic in this question was Elder H. E. Carver of Marion, Iowa. He was a minister in the S D A Church, who differed from the Whites on some questions, including EGW's position as to Shut Door in the time of the Civil War. Elder A. C. Long, also a S.D.A. preacher, raised the same question in this early 1880's. More recent S.D.A. apostates have been D. M. Canright and L. R. Conradi, both ministers of great repute in the S.D.A. Church. Cf. Canright 1919 and Conradi 1939, Numbers 1976, pp. 27f.

(60) DS, Jan. 24, 1846.

(61) Ibm White, to Enoch Jacobs, Feb. 15, 1846, as quoted in Conradi 1939, pp. 20, 21.

(62) Ibm

(63) Ibm

(64) So e.g. Mk. 13:32-37, Mt. 24: 40-44, Lk. 17: 34-36

(65) *A Vision*, Apr. 7, 1847. Broadside. Topsham, Maine.

house of an avowed and controversial shut door brother, "Elder" Israel Dammon, then at Exeter, Maine (66), she was shown three parties:

1. "the Advent people", 2. "the church", evidently the Millerites, who rejected the relevance of the October date, and 3. "the world" (67). In harmony with the characteristic shut door view she "saw" how both the "church" and the "world" were left in complete darkness. In order to deceive the "foolish damsels" Satan had sent an effusion of his spirit upon those believers (68).

Before we leave this second vision, it is of importance to compare this document with the somewhat earlier Advent Mirror article. This writer then discerns a definite similarity between the two documents. An important passage in the vision says:

"Wait here - (Jesus speaking to EGW as her interpretus) I am going to my Father to receive the Kingdom, keep your garments spotless, and in a little while I will return from the wedding and receive you to myself." (69)

In this early text we find no marks of the later view about the atonement or judgement in the Most Holy Place as from October 22, 1844. As a young visionary EGW evidently moved in the mainstream of Millerite left-wing speculation.

Another important document explaining EGW's relation to Shut Door was recently discovered by this writer. The document is the oldest handwritten EGW letter (70). The communication was sent to pioneer worker,

(66) The leading journal for the "moderate" adventists of the Albany Conference, the Advent Herald, issued a special warning against Dammon's "immoral" behaviour. It read in part: "It has become necessary to warn the brethren every where against Israel Dammon, and John Moody, two married men, and Miss Dorinda Baker, who are travelling in company to various places, teaching disgusting extravagances. ... This Mr. Dammon is the one whose trial in Maine has been reported in all papers. We repudiate all these notions of public feet-washings, embracings, kissings etc, etc." Advent Herald, Mar. 26, 1845. Even the most liberal Day-Star, considered D. "crazy, for everybody said so." DS, Aug. 5, 1845, p. 51. EGW, however, thought highly of this eccentric shut door brother and entertained the view that he was filled with God's spirit! White 1860, pp. 40-42. Most likely D., too, was a shut door visionary.

(67) A Vision, Apr. 7, 1847. Broadside. Topsham, Maine.

(68) Ibid

(69) Ibid. Cf. The Advent Mirror, Jan. 1845.

(70) White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847. WEA. Wash. D.C. The letter is incomplete.

Joseph Bates. In the letter EGW explained how it came about that she, too, became a shut door believer. From the letter we understand, that Bates was curious to know, how EGW's shut door sentiments related to those of Turner and others (71). EGW, therefore, conceded, that the Advent Mirror was in her home, evidently as soon as it appeared in January 1845. EGW also described how delighted Turner was to find her share his shut door idea.

In the meeting at the Dammons', which we have alluded to above (72), EGW received a vision, which evidently made quite an impression on the "Advent band." In particular EGW was relieved to inform Bates how a prestigious "Mother in Israel", a certain "charismatic" evangelist, by the name of Sister Durben, also "fell to the floor" like EGW and, most likely, had a vision in the shut door vein. EGW reported that "most of them" (the company present in Dammon's home) was settled upon the shut door" (73).

Her letter gives a good presentation of the difficult condition among former Millerites, a few months after the October events. She informed Bates:

"The view about the bridegroom's coming I had about the middle of February 1845 (The Advent Mirror was published in Jan. 1845) while in Exeter, Maine in meeting with Israel Dammon James and many others. many of them did not believe in a shut door/ I suffered much at the commencement of the meeting/ unbelief seemed to be on every hand ... a division had risen in the band on the shut door/ she (Sister Durben) had great sympathy and could not believe the door was shut (I had known nothing of their differences) sister Durben got up to talk I felt very sad / at length my soul seemed to be in agony and while she was talking I fell from my chair to the floor / it was then I had my view of Jesus rising from his meaditorial thrown and going to the holiest as bridegroom to receive his kingdom." (74)

It appears as though the young visionary had great respect for this experienced lady preacher and feared her as a prestigious rival. In particular EGW lived in agony because of sister Durben's "open door" sentiments. Most likely sister Durben as well was a visionary.

EGW succeeded in convincing the somewhat credulous Bates to believe, that she had received her shut door notion independently from human sources.

(71) Ibid

(72) Supra, p.

(73) White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847. WEA. Wash. D.C. Italics supplied. The original spelling and grammar is retained.

(74) Ibid. Italics added.

We cite a passage:

"At the time I had the vision of the midnight cry (75) I had given it up in the past / I thought it future as also most of the band had. I knew not what time Turner got out his paper / I knew he had one out and one was in the house but I knew not was in it for I did not read a word in it / I had been and still was very sick / I took no interest in reading for it injured my head and made me nervous." (76)

In this 1847 source EGW claimed, that she had given up Shut Door, a short time after the October crisis. This statement she was to revise some three decades later, however (77).

For a time, the relations between Turner and EGW were intimate or perhaps rather familiar. But later EGW parted company with this shut door preacher. It is important to raise the question as to whether Turner introduced EGW as a shut door visionary among the scattered groups of former Millerites in New England (78).

Insofar as this writer can judge, there was never any question in reference to EGW's position on Shut Door up to 1851. Only a few additional documents will therefore be analysed. In 1849 we know that EGW received further revelations in reference to the shut door concept (79). In those years of small beginnings, Sabbatarian Adventists, including EGW, found it very difficult to imagine that the good Lord had anything at all to do with Christians in Sunday keeping churches. The prevalent revivals she, therefore, accounted for as the work of the Devil, and in a very special way she denounced the competing adventist groups. Of them she wrote:

"Some professing Adventists who had rejected the present truth (Shut Door and the Sabbath), while preaching and praying or in conversation used Mesmerism to gather adherents... And even some that used it, were so far in darkness and deception of the Devil, that they thought it was the power of God, given them to exercise." (80)

(75) I.e. Snow's October date.

(76) White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847. WEA. Wash. D.C. Italics added.

(77) Cf. *infra*, p. 100ff.

(78) James White reported about the separation between the former friends in 1848. J.W. to the Hastings, Jul 2, 1848. WEA. Wash. D.C. In her 1860 biographical sketch EGW denied any connection with Turner. White 1860, pp. 49-62.

(79) Present Truth, Aug. 1849, pp. 21, 22.

(80) *Ibm.* Emphasis supplied.

It is interesting to observe how she here accused "professing Adventists" of deceiving souls by the means of Mesmerism. It is of some importance, too, to know that her own competitors also suggested that her visions were caused by Mesmerism (81).

In her criticism of revivals in other churches (a manifestation, which could hardly be expected in a shut door group) she further maintained that the conversions that "were shown" her were spurious in character (82).

We also know that the Whites traveled some fifty miles in order to persuade a doubting shut door brother at Paris, Maine, to hold on to his former shut door theology. After the event she could report: "Brother Stowell was established in the shut door and all the present truth that he had doubted" (83).

It may be helpful to look at a concise summary of her shut door theology as she herself penned it in 1850.

"The excitements and false reformations of this day do not move us, for we know that the Master of the house (84) rose up in 1844, and shut the door of the first apartment of the tabernacle; and now we certainly expect that they ("Open Door" Christians) will go with their flocks, to seek the Lord, but they shall not find him; he hath withdrawn (within the second veil) from them." (85)

Such visions prove that EGW certainly supported Shut Door in her visions.

We now turn to a few documents that some writers interpret as evidence in another direction. In 1847 EGW declared:

"I saw that God had children, who do not see and keep the Sabbath. They had not rejected the light on it. And at the

(81) White 1860, pp. 57-62.

(82) Present Truth, Aug. 1849, pp. 21, 22. Cf. A Vision, Apr. 7, 1847. Broadside. Topsham, Maine.

(83) White to the Hastings, Mar. 24-30, 1849. WEA. Wash. D.C. In Dec. 1850 EGW still considered it a sin to reject the Shut Door notion. H-10, 1850. WEA. Wash. D.C. Incidentally EGW met with little success in her home state, and in a special way this was true about Paris, Me. White to Sister Harriet, Aug. 11, 1850. WEA. Wash. D.C.

(84) The term is derived from Lk 13:25 and was a common shut door designation.

(85) The Present Truth, Mar. 1850, p. 64. Emphasis added. As to the interpretation of the Ellen G. White Estate cf. Nichols 1951, ch. 15. Arthur L. White, Ellen White and the Shut Door Question. Duplicated in 1974. Wash. D.C.

commencement of the time of trouble, we were filled with the Holy Ghost as we went forth, and proclaimed the Sabbath more fully. This engaged the church, and nominal Adventists, as they could not refute the Sabbath truth. And at this time, God's chosen all saw clearly that we had the truth, and they came out and endured the persecution with us." (86)

EGW's expressions "God's chosen" is a variant form of terms such as "the remnant", "the household", "the little flock", and other designations for the "wise damsels", where the great majority of the living saints consisted of former Millerites. Some adherents in that privileged group could belong to other churches, but each one had to "confess" to the "present truth" of the October date. There is not least a pragmatic explanation, or even a psychological ground, for the short lived shut door theology. Hard-core Millerites were shunned by almost everybody. Hence the adventists concluded that "the door was shut."

In November 1848, moreover, EGW is said to have had a vision in Dorchester, Massachusetts, showing her how the "little band" of Sabbatarian Adventists in time would encircle the globe with their publications (87). Whatever this vision contained, it seems to have prompted James White to publish the first journal for Sabbatarian adventism, the *Present Truth*. A central part of the late version of this vision runs: "From this small beginning (The *Present Truth*) it was shown to me to be like streams of light that went clear round the world" (87).

It goes without saying that, if this text is genuine, it would, of course, have killed the exclusive shut door notion. Therefore, it is easy to make the conclusion, that either the original text of the Dorchester vision was much different, or else even James White and the leaders were so immersed in their shut door theology, which the isolated prophetess is said to have rejected, that her views carried no weight. For several reasons, however, the first alternative is very obvious. The vision, as it is quoted in all official S.D.A. books, cannot be traced to any older source than the 1915 biography of EGW (88). Nichol tried hard, however, to establish the plausibility of this late text by a selected reference to Joseph Bates' pamphlet, *A Seal of the Living God*, of January, 1849 (89). Furthermore Nichol attempted to transform this hard-core shut door brother into an "open door" adventist in 1849. The very text of Bates' contribution indicates another view, however. The key concept in Bates' text referred to symbol of the rising sun. But for some reason, Nichol here missed the context; for Bates, of course, received his version from Revelation 7, 1-9,

(86) *A Vision*, Apr. 7, 1847. Broadside. Topsham, Maine.

(87) White 1915, p. 125. It is also puzzling that the 1860 biographical sketch passes by this important Dorchester vision in silence.

(88) *Ibm*

(89) Cf. Nichol 1951, p. 245.

where we read how angels with the "sealing message" came from the east, or rose to eminence with the rising sun. When Bates wrote his tract, he firmly believed this "sealing" to be completed in 1849 (90). Hence an examination of Bates' essay and his interest in the imminent parousia to take place in about 1849 demonstrates how far Bates was from the expressions Nichol wanted to read into his shut door pamphlet. It is also a fact that Bates' shut door theology was backed up by EGW's position (91).

Like many other leaders, EGW in later years gilded the early critical years. A good example of this tendency is found in her statements from 1874 and 1883, in reference to her position to Shut Door in 1845-1851 (92). One only needs to compare those statements with her own preserved texts from 1845-1851 to notice how great the difference is between the two collections of texts. Likewise she reinterpreted her contribution to the doctrinal development in the early years (92a).

Most likely the present text of the so called Dorchester vision received its "facelift" in connection with EGW's first visit to the "mission fields" in Europe 1885-1887; for then the young movement for the first time could establish printing houses outside North America (93).

Our interpretation of EGW's shut door view 1845-1851 is further confirmed when we consult the witness of some contemporary fellow-believers. In 1847 James White explained how his wife became a shut door believer:

"When she received her first vision, Dec. 1844, she and all the band in Portland, Maine (where her parents then resided) had given up the midnight-cry (i.e. the October time movement), and shut door, as being in the past. It was then that the Lord shewed her in vision, the error into which she and the band in Portland had fallen. She then related her vision to the band, and about sixty confessed their error, and acknowledged their 7th month experience (the October time movement) to be the work of God." (94)

The reader at once notices that James White exactly confirmed EGW's own report to Bates in the letter we have just analysed. In order to demonstrate the supernatural source of EGW's visions, James White, and, of course, also EGW both were eager to show how her shut door view derived from the Lord and not from human sources.

(90) *Ibm*, p. 244f.

(91) Cf. White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847.

(92) White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847. *A Vision*, Apr. 7, 1847, Bates' dedication.

(92a) White 1958, pp. 58ff.

(93) This view was first sketched in RH Jul. 26, 1887. At that time the S D A movement had established a central publishing house at Berne, Switzerland. There was another plant at Oslo, Norway.

(94) WLF 1847, p. 22. Italics added.

Our second witness, Otis Nichols, had been active as a supporter of Miller's apocalyptic revival. Nichols was a lithographer with some earthly resources and belonged to the inner circle of the Sabbatarian adventists. He knew EGW intimately, for she had stayed in his home for approximately eight months after the October crisis. In a letter to "Father Miller" Nichols tried hard to introduce EGW as a true prophet. In fact, he wrote his exposition at the back of an early EGW "broadside" (95).

In his efforts to win Miller over to the shut door camp, Nichols also made it clear, where EGW stood in this question. We quote:

"... she continued to travel day and night talking almost every day until she had visited most of the advent hands in Maine and the easterly parts of New Hampshire. Her message was always attended with the Holy Ghost, and where ever it was received as from the Lord it broke down and united their hearts like little children, fed, comforted, strengthened the weak and encouraged them to hold on to the faith, and the 7th movement, and that our work was done for the nominal church and the world, and what remains to be done was for the household of faith." (96)

Nichols' report to Miller shows without a shadow of a doubt, that EGW, in her teaching, held on to Shut Door in its two-fold meaning. Nichols' conclusion, based on the best contemporary documents is simply, that EGW through her early visions strengthened the shut door position. We cannot discern any special, different shut door theology in EGW, as was only natural, when she was one in the important group of the founders. What else could one really expect?

d. The 1851 Crisis and Its Aftermath

Some time in the summer of 1851 Sabbatarian adventists at last made a major decision when they rejected much of their shut door teaching, which for years had been an integral part of the "present truth." From that point onwards the future S.D.A. denomination no longer preached Shut Door in its salvation limiting sense; at last they comprehended the erroneous concept in this crisis theology and they, too, set out for the "open door" race to save the "world" from imminent destruction. Gradually did the understanding dawn upon them that the offer of salvation was for everybody, not just for Millerites. The message about the Shut Door was then changed into the novel doctrine of the Pre-Advent judgment, the so called investigative judgment. This re-

(95) Otis Nichols to Wm Miller, Apr. 20, 1846. The Miller Papers, Aurora College, Aurora Ill.

(96) Ibid. Emphasis supplied.

orientation in doctrine was sometimes known as the "Open and Shut Door" (97). Miller's and Crosier's (98) cogitations made this exit possible.

The new start does not seem to have caused very great problems to the policy making brethren. The situation was much different for EGW, however. The unorganized Sabbatarian group well knew how energetically she had supported Shut Door in its original sense in her visions. Only in passing, however, did James White make any mention of the new "open door" theology among his group (99). In fact, White never made any open declaration of his new light as to Shut Door. Evidently such explanations were considered too risky. On two grounds, however, we can ascertain when this major reorientation happened. In the first place it is safe to refer to the numerous deletions in the early EGW visions, and then we have some statements about the rather heavy criticism among the adherents.

In September 1851 James White published a 64 page pamphlet with revised EGW visions (1). This enterprise was launched in an unassuming, cautious way. Since the shut door notions were so heavily interwoven in the visions, a complete revision into the "open door" direction was simply impossible. But White did the best thing under the circumstances: he removed the most offensive expressions and hoped that time would work for him or for the movement (2). The old shut door terms were not the only problem in those old versions; James White saw to it that some other problematic expressions likewise were deleted.

A document which this writer came across a few years ago helps to illustrate the difficult state EGW lived in when the shut door notion had to be discarded in the summer of 1851. In a letter to close friends EGW unburdened her heart:

"There is a stir all around here since the conference reports are being carried. (evil of course) Some are anxious to hear for themselves and will come to the meetings. The visions trouble many. They (know) not what to make of them. We shall have the visions published in pamphlet form

(97) A few years after 1851, the old designation "shut door" was discarded. In 1852 J. White burst out: "The OPEN DOOR (sic!) we teach, and invite those who have an ear to hear to come to it and find salvation through Jesus Christ... If it be said that we are of the OPEN DOOR and Sabbath theory, we shall not object; for this is our faith." RH, Feb. 17, 1852, p. 95.

(98) Cf. *infra*, pp. 129ff.

(99) RH, Feb. 17, 1852, p. 95. Extra sheet in the *Advent Review Extra* 1853.

(1) White 1851, *passim*.

(2) Ibid

and if all the particulars are not published in the pamphlet that I saw at Brother Cushman's and if you desire it I can write it out for you." (3)

This letter was penned on the same day the Whites published their little new journal the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald Extra*, containing only EGW visions. Despite the fact that James White had promised several issues of the visionary sources, only one copy materialized. The interesting thing about the unsuccessful journal is the deletions in EGW's first vision, for some conspicuous shut door terms are missing (4). In the letter to the Dodges EGW expressed apprehensions and even promised to send special handwritten copies of some visions. She moreover referred to a forthcoming publication, most likely *Experience and Views*, which she feared was likely to cause some problems. Those difficulties may have been of more than one kind, but the most offensive part was undoubtedly the deletions in the early visions. What "particulars" she "saw at Brother Cushman's" we do not know, since no copies of the view are available. Another interesting point in this EGW letter is her reference to handwritten copies of visions. Such material may still be located in old homes and historical societies in New England.

Nichol and writers in the Ellen G. White Estate have tried to solve this dilemma by suggesting that the deletions were made for the sake of saving some dollars to the "cause" (5). The group was very poor, and the pioneers certainly suffered from a constant shortage of means. This admission, however, does not account for the selective omissions in the early EGW texts. And we cannot avoid the question: why just those deletions. EGW's own explanation in 1851, that omissions had been made in order to avoid "repetition" is equally unsatisfactory (6).

Most likely EGW would have ended her career as another one of New England's numerous shut door prophets, had it not been for the organizational skill of her husband. Since he could not directly suggest that a later revelation made a former null and void, no other policy seemed realistic than keeping EGW outside much of the public decisions for some time. It so happened that the period 1851-1855 can be styled as her Silent Years.

James White felt unable to promote the old visions. No less than three times did he publish a kind of explanation as to the embarrassing state.

- (3) White to Brother and Sister Dodge, Jul. 21, 1851. WEA. Wash. D. C. Italics added.
- (4) *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald Extra*, Jul. 21, 1851, p. 2.
- (5) Nichol 1951, p. 642. Arthur L. White, Ellen G. White and the Shut Door Question, pp. 34, 35. Duplicated in the Ellen G. White Estate, Wash. D. C. Nov. 10, 1974.
- (6) *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald Extra*, Jul. 21, 1851, p. 2. col. 1.

A part of that article merits our observation:

"... those on whom heaven bestows the greatest blessings are in the most danger of being "exalted" and of falling, therefore they need to be humble, and watch over and they themselves have been apt to drink in the extremely dangerous idea that all their impressions were direct promptings of the Spirit of the Lord." (7)

It is obvious that James White had his own wife in view, when he penned these remarkable statements. The abandonment of the central shut door teaching, which EGW had defended, and other problems compelled James White to write such admissions. Somewhat later, in 1863, James White remarked that EGW had been a "safeguard against fanaticism" for ten years (8). Why only for the last ten years? Obviously White dared not suggest that she had rejected the erroneous shut door teaching.

It seems to be only a correct observation to state that James White certainly followed a consistent non-visionary policy during the critical period 1851-1855. For this reason he got angry, when a writer accused him of being a "visionist." White made it clear: "No writer has ever referred to them (the visions) as an authority on any point. The Review has not for five years published one of them" (9).

This statement was made in October 1855. But then the whole question about Charisma came up for renewed discussion. At a conference in Battle Creek, Mich., the new headquarters of the movement, pro-EGW men in November, 1855, once more saw to it that EGW again could play a central role in the history of the Sabbatarian group. In this "pro-visionary" constellation were found men like Joseph Bates, Joseph Harvey Waggoner, and Merritt E. Cornell (10). For a short time James White evidently was made the scapegoat.

The November conference marked the end of EGW's involuntary spiritual exile. Whereas formerly "God's frown" had rested upon the remnant, when the visions had been "slighted and neglected", the Lord's pleasure had returned to the "Little Flock", when they had again accepted the EGW revelations (11). With the rehabilitation of EGW, the Sabbatarian group had once more regained its original characteristics as a "prophetic" movement. This resolution would in time be of the utmost

- (7) RG, Jun. 9, 1853, p. 13. Italics supplied.
- (8) RH, May 12, 1863, p. 188.
- (9) RH, Oct. 16, 1855, p. 16. Italics added. For the sake of this position James White temporarily lost a great deal of his influence.
- (10) RH, Dec. 4, 1855, pp. 78, 79.
- (11) Ibm, Jan. 10, 1856, p. 118.

importance for the future of the movement; for in having a charismatic leader the group could make its resolutions with absolute authority. As soon as EGW had regained her former position, she also received additional visions with new instruction. Those writings became the well-known Testimonies for the Church, which in time were studied by partially every member (12).

Shut Door has had a very long aftermath, right down to the present day. But for several reasons it is not possible to follow this contention in detail. We shall merely account for the main points of the shut door controversy in EGW's own life time, in the 1870's and 1880's.

In 1874, after Sabbatarian Adventism had reached a new position as an aggressive missionary movement in the United States and in Europe, bitter critics in the Sunday observing Adventist groups, who felt threatened by their Sabbatarian brethren, launched a major attack against the S.D.A. movement. EGW and her relation to the heretical shut door teaching then formed the core of the campaign. Both Pastor Miles Grant of the Advent Christian connection and its historian Isaac Wellcome, took part in this polemical campaign (13). EGW had certainly been a shut door believer and for ever left imprints to prove this. Miles and Grant knew this fact and had been acquainted with the Whites during their shut door years in New England. To mention such facts is merely to register the well-known events, we have treated in our examination of the early EGW texts.

Against this background it is easier to understand, why EGW spoke out against this massive criticism. As was her policy, she did not write anything directly as a rebuttal to the "charges" in a paper, but sent a letter to Adventist leader J. N. Loughborough. In 1874 EGW made the following claim:

"I hereby testify in the fear of God that the charge of Miles Grant of Mrs. Burdick and others published in the crisis (sic) is not true. The statements in reference to my course in forty-four are false.

With my brethren and sisters, after the time passed in forty-four I did believe no more sinners would be converted. But I never had a vision that no more sinners would be converted. I am clear and free to state no one has ever heard me say or read from my pen statements which will justify them in the charges they have made against me upon this point...

I have never under any circumstances used this language to any one, however sinful." (14)

(12) Cf. *infra*, ch. 4.

(13) Wellcome 1874, chs. 1-2. *The World's Crisis*, Jul. 1, 1874, p. 50. In this article the former shut door brother, Israel Damon, commented on EGW's shut door teaching.

(14) White to Loughborough, August 24, 1874. WEA. Wash. D.C. Italics added.

There are several statements in this affidavit EGW letter worth analysing. In the first place it is evident, that the 1874 EGW directly contradicts the 1845-1851 EGW. Whereas she then was eager to stress how she had given up belief in Shut Door prior to her visions, she claimed in 1874, that, as a private individual, she did share the shut door notion for a time, like everybody else after the disappointment; but never did she support that faulty idea in any vision. Moreover she had never written or said, that the "world was doomed or damned." It is evident that EGW wanted to get rid of the troublesome shut door notions at any cost, and this fact explains why she was so emphatic in her denial of the facts. Here she, in fact, directly contradicted the words in her first original vision of December, 1844!

EGW's second major comment as to her relation to the shut door view came in 1883, one year after her 1851 booklet, *Experience and View* had been republished with the claims to being the first edition of her early visions. This faulty statement again kindled the fire of shut door debate among members and critics (15). EGW and her editors wrote a lengthy reply this time to internal critics. She repeated the main thrust of her letter to Loughborough in 1874 and assured her critics that she had never had a vision to say that the "door of mercy" was shut. This time, however, she declared that her visions had led the believers out of their fallacies and enabled them "to see the true position" (16). In 1883 she even attempted to get away from any responsibility for the 1851 deletions. It could very well be that a certain Mr. Eli Curtis, New York City, had tempered with her visions (17). Such assertions certainly show that EGW tried hard to avoid the facts, for needless to say only James and Ellen White were responsible for the omissions in *Experience and Views* (18). She had even forgotten the existence of the very journal she in a vision had encouraged her husband to publish, the *Present Truth*.

Those views are hardly convincing, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Uriah Smith, the editor of the *Review*, expressed doubts about such assertions (19). However, it is only fair to refer to such a problematic factor, as we generally call a selective memory. And our retention does tend to be worse than ever, when we have a good reason to forget unpleasant experiences. EGW was certainly much more human than some people have suggested.

(15) White 1958, p. 59f.

(16) *Ibm*, p. 63.

(17) *Ibm*, pp. 60-61.

(18) *Ibm*, p. 61.

(19) Smith to Canright, Mar. 22, and Apr. 6, 1883. Copies in the author's file.

III. Steps Towards a Monolithic Organization

a. Preparatory actions

For fifteen years Sabbatarian Adventists were a movement without any formal organization. In addition to the assistance from the leaders, like James and Ellen White, Joseph Bates, and Hiram Edson, journals such as the *Present Truth*, the *Review and Herald* (1), and the *Youth's Instructor* kept the scattered believers together. A characteristic element in this branch of former Millerites was the place allotted to the young prophet, EGW. The charisma embodied in her person must be considered to have been an important factor in the making and development of the movement.

An early sign of the fully developed organization was the many doctrinal discussions between the believers in the late 40s, the so called Sabbath Conferences (2). In these deliberations the "Bible only" position was considered to be supreme, even if confirmatory "messages" or visions from EGW went into the doctrine-making process. The believers saw no inconsistency in this dichotomy, since the ministry of EGW could be interpreted as manifestation of "spiritual gifts", which the New Testament emphasizes (3).

Needless to say the abortive shut door theory served as an efficient block in the path to organization. On the other hand the movement experienced an internal consolidation in the late 1840s with the frequent conferences in matters of doctrine and discipline.

It is significant, however, that a step towards organization was undertaken as soon as the shut door period had ended. For in the late summer of 1851 deacons were ordained in a Sabbatarian church (4). In the autumn of the same year James White reported about another ordination of deacons to serve the poor in the church. Reference was made to Act 6 (5). In the early fifties problems relating to church discipline were beginning to cause problems in the small churches. Some individuals had to be excommunicated because of "dangerous errors in the field of eschatology." Mention was also made of an independant preacher who had given rise to a schism by presenting "fanciful views of unfulfilled prophecies" (6). Such incidents reveal how important it was for the "scattered flock" of Sabbath-keepers to get a form of organization to enable the leaders to control ministers and members in matters pertaining to doctrines and morals.

- (1) The *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* as the full name was.
- (2) Froom 1954, pp. 1021-1024. Ibm 1971, pp. 84-90.
- (3) Smith 1868, pp. 3-16.
- (4) RH, Aug 19, 1851, p. 15 Nov. 25, 1851.
- (5) RH, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 15.
- (6) Ibm

In 1853-1854 James White and his wife pointed out the great need of organization in the group in several articles in the *Review*. EGW penned an essay on "Gospel Order" to emphasize how the Bible recommended discipline and organization. A typical setting ran:

"There is order in heaven. There was order in the church when Christ was upon earth, and after his departure order was strictly observed among His disciples." (7)

What James White and the preachers expressed in factual terms, EGW supported in visions. She remarked: "The Lord has shown that gospel order has been much feared and neglected" (8). She, too, touched on the plague of the unauthorized preachers (9).

The James White series dealt with the problem of being an unorganized minority group, and was backed up with frequent references to the Holy Writ. This method was important in a group that favoured "the Bible only" position. James White made many stirring appeals to the independant believers. On one occasion he wrote:

"Jesus prayed that his people might be one, and the holy apostles have left the church many affectionate and stirring exhortations to seek for unity, and pure, fervent love for one another." (10)

The Apostolic Church was presented as the pattern in ecclesiology. In these preparatory articles there was no mention of a formal organization.

In the second installment James White stressed the meaning of the "calling, qualifications and duties of a gospel minister" (11). At this time White advocated the ordination of ministers by "the laying on of hands" (12). As a Scriptural basis for the plea he referred to the pastoral epistles of St. Paul (13). James White's sacramental interest may surprise some readers, but one should remember, that he came from a Baptist group, where ordination of ministers was practised.

The third article admonished the believers to support their acknowledged ministers with their prayers and offerings (14). In order to maintain some sort of control over preachers, special cards of recommendation were issued and given to those brethren the

- (7) White 1854, p. 12.
- (8) Ibm, Italics added.
- (9) White 1854, pp. 12-19.
- (10) RH, Dec. 6, 1853, p. 172.
- (11) RH, Dec. 20, 1853, pp. 188-190.
- (12) Ibm, p. 189.
- (13) RH, Dec. 20, 1853, p. 189.
- (14) RH, Dec. 27, 1853, pp. 196, 198.

leaders accepted. The cards or "licences" were signed by James White and Joseph Bates "in behalf of the church" (15). This decision strengthened the position of the leading duo, of whom James White was the more prominent figure. Some progress in the direction toward an organization had thus been made by the mid-fifties, but the decisive steps remained to be taken.

In the surge of the mighty westward movement, which took on momentum after 1830, a small band of Sabbatarian Adventists quietly found entrance in rural Battle Creek, Michigan. This happened in 1855, when the young apocalyptic revival transferred its printing plant from Rochester, N. Y. to Michigan (16).

From this time the need for some kind of a formal organization became increasingly evident. The moving force behind this drive was the gifted organizer and church financier, James White. Since he was the husband of the prophet Ellen Gould Harmon, his contribution to the SDA Church has been unfairly overlooked in denominational writings. James White became aware of the importance of organization before most believers and except for him, the S D A Church would most likely not have existed. In order to safeguard property within the movement, James White had registered the press and some chapels in his own name (17). This arrangement certainly had its great limitations. Slowly even former opponents against organization began to sense the need of a better order. After 1855, when the movement had established its center at Battle Creek with a new little church-building and a publishing house, the need of registering the property in the name of some kind of a legal corporate ownership became more and more urgent (18).

But still, a large segment of the believers were against this development. As late as 1857 one of the pioneers expressed his view of the United States as the two-horned beast in the Apocalypse (19). The two horns this writer interpreted as slavery and a denominational organization (20). At this time it was a rather common thing among the radicals to understand the number of the apocalyptic beast as 666 sects or denominations in the United States (21). EGW used the same expression in the early versions of

her visions (22). The most difficult obstacle in the way was the lack of biblical support for a centralized organization. Incidentally the Sunday-keeping Adventists were also against organization (23).

Considering these feelings, one is not at all surprised to notice the massive objections that were raised against "church order." One of the main opponents among the preachers declared, that the efforts "to make us a name... lies at the foundation of Babylon" (24). In order to back up his arguments this anti-organization preacher used "proof texts" from the Revelation; those passages were familiar to all Adventists. If the brethren supported the plans to organize the church, this very fact could mean nothing less than paying obedience to the "two-horned beast" (25).

James White sensed the danger of such biblical reasoning and immediately replied in the same issue of the Review. According to him Elder Roswell F. Cottrell's criticism revealed several weak points. 1. Cottrell's criticism did not provide any positive suggestions as to the problem of how to keep the "meeting-houses" legally within the movement; 2. Cottrell's suggestions did not give the loyal members any chance of bequeathing means to the church. 3. EGW was for organization. If Cottrell wanted to stand forth as a loyal preacher, he could not go against her advice. 4. The common idea, (which James White no doubt had believed in) that the numerous sects in America were a fulfillment of the mysterious number 666 in the Apocalypse, was wrong (26).

When pressed for a biblical support for accepting modern corporate jurisdiction, White had to admit that there was none. On the other hand he remarked, that his system of church government was not opposed to Bible teaching and could most certainly be supported by common sense (27). White acted very skillfully in the sensitive question and left the literalist platform to resort to a dynamic hermeneutic, in a way that was fairly inoffensive to the radical believers. To validate the modern type of church polity, which was similar to the type employed in several denominations and many business companies in America, White and his men preferred to talk about "gospel order", and underlined in particular that no "creed business" was involved (28).

(15) SDAE 1966, p. 930.

(16) Spalding 1961, p. 267.

(17) RH, Aug. 27, 1861, p. 100. Oct. 9, 1860, p. 163.

(18) RH, Oct. 3-23, 1860 passim.

(19) Loughborough 1857. (tractate) Cornell 1858, pp. 51-67.

(20) Ibm The two "horns" with ref. to Revelation XIII were 1. slavery, 2. creeds. This view gave further support to the "standard interpretation" of the second beast in Rev. XIII that Protestantism and Republicanism were that beast. Cf. Froom 1971, pp. 122-124.

(21) RH, Dec. 6, 1853, p. 72. J.W. claimed then that the "fallen" churches were 666 in number. The same view is evident in one of the original EGW visions. A vision, Apr. 7, 1847, publ. by Joseph Bates, Fairhaven, Mass.

(22) WFL 1847, p. 19. The early text reads "I saw that the number (666) of the Image Beast was made up;"

(23) Arthur 1970.

(24) Elder R. F. Cottrell in RH, Apr. 26, 1860, p. 180.

(25) Ibm

(26) RH, Apr. 26, 1860, pp. 180-182.

(27) RH, Jul. 21, 1859, p. 68.

(28) Ibm

b. The Important Developments in 1860-1863

Gradually the scales began to turn into the favour of James White's type of "church government." The main reason why the pro-organization men could get more supporters was a desperate need to protect church property from being lost to the movement. However, White and his men used this need for completing a much more elaborate system of organization. But such an operation could be introduced only by degrees; the basic establishment came into being in 1860-1863. Considerable pressure was exerted on the members, but Cottrell and many others held, that on no account should the Adventists copy the example of the Methodists and others and create a strong central organization or a "great iron wheel" (28a). The only appropriate name Cottrell could think of was the biblical term "Church of God" (29). Regrettably several religious biblicists had already taken up that designation. Ironically enough the same SDA Church at last was to become one of the thoroughly organized "iron wheel" churches, though the Methodists, of course, were much more numerous.

In order to try to solve the vital issues over organization, a so called General Conference, i. e. a kind of Adventist synod with representative delegates from all the local churches, convened at the Battle Creek head-quarter church between September 28 and October 1, 1860. An Adventist writer has fittingly called this council "one of the most significant SDA gatherings up to that time" (30). The preserved reports from the meetings support the contention that the group was divided over the important question, and a schism could easily have resulted.

From the beginning the two sides reflected different views: there was 1. a no-organization party and 2. the majority group which welcomed "law and order." A militant anti-organization man, J. T. Butler, from Gilboa, Ohio, presented no less than four radical resolutions. He contended that there should be no organization whatever, and no entanglement with any insurance company. The movement must be free and serve as its own insurance company, for the only company this pioneer trusted was the Bible based organization, built "upon the foundation of apostles, prophets and Christ (Eph. ii, 20)" (31). Like many frontier folks the members in the young sabbatarian movement seemed to have entertained a strong bias and suspicion of corporate associations, insurance companies, and state regulations. Most Adventists at that time were radical "come-outers" who wanted to stay away from the "world", a sentiment so excessively stressed during the shut door years. In other words: Sabbatarian Adventists at that time were radical "come-outers," or sectarians, who wanted to stay aloof from the "wicked world."

(28a) Cf. Gravers 1856. For a Baptist view on ecclesiology, cf. Hudson 1959.

(29) RH, Oct. 9, 1860, p. 163. "The Great Iron Wheel" is a well-known term, often applied to the Methodist church government.

(30) SDAE 1966, p. 931

(31) RH, Oct. 9, 1860, p. 161.

At the conference the most radical opponent of James White's plans to organize, R. F. Cottrell, preferred to be absent. His main ideas were read to the delegates, however, in the form of a letter (32). Cottrell, who must be considered to have been the most consistent literalist preacher and an avowed supporter of the congregational type of organization, phrased his ideology on ecclesiology in the following terms:

"In order to be legalized as a church, it is necessary, if I understand it, for individual churches already organized as nearly to New Testament order we have attained, to re-organize." (33)

Cottrell argued that also the ecclesiastical pattern had to be found explicitly in the New Testament in order to be condoned (34). Therefore, it was much better to lose a chapel totally, Cottrell continued "than sacrifice their scriptural organization as a church of Jesus Christ" (35). J. T. Butler, editor J. H. Waggoner, and John Nevins Andrews, the first American "missionary" to be sent to Europe, for at time at least shared Cottrell's anti-organization platform. The principal supporters of White's organizational model were Joseph Bates, chairman during the discussions, and J. N. Loughborough. The young editor Uriah Smith also belonged to this group.

James White was tired and overworked after all the hard campaigning for "order." The half-hearted response many Adventists had given to his views of organization made him disappointed. At the conference he pleaded with the delegates to support his plans, so that he could be relieved of his responsibilities for the movement (36). A short time after the battle for an organization was over. White had also to go to a health resort to recuperate. But weak or strong, James White had been so intimately connected with the movement from 1845, that he stood forth as the logical leader of the movement.

And as long as he could work, James White was chosen to take care of important offices; this refers to the situation after 1860. He then took an active part in the discussions and continued as editor of the Review. When he looked back at his policy for a more efficient church government in 1860, three points stood out clearly: 1. he contented, that he had only defended the steps absolutely necessary to transfer the legal titles to the property from himself to the movement; 2. he admitted that such steps

(32) Ibid. C. stated in his letter that it had not been "expedient" for him to be present.

(33) RH, Oct. 9, 1860, p. 163. Italics added.

(34) Ibid

(35) Ibid

(36) Ibid. An opportunistic motive probably lay behind the decision. When the battle over organization was over, J. W. served as President.

could not explicitly be defined from the Bible; the "good book" had no suggestions on "power press, running of tents, or how Sabbath keepers should hold their office of publication"; 3. the literalists were challenged to produce a concrete suggestion from the Holy Scriptures for an organization of this type (37).

James White's frank admission must not be misunderstood; however, for such concessions were made, when the fight over the organization had reached its hottest stage.

When the lively discussions subsided, three alternatives for an organization were presented: 1. James White's far-reaching, but not fully disclosed ideas; 2. Cottrell's and Butler's anti-organization policy; 3. Andrew's and Waggoner's middle way proposal for a simple organization "exclusively for the sake of holding property" (38).

The widely disseminated anti-organization seeds had yielded an abundant harvest, as was evident in the discussions among the delegates at Battle Creek in the fall of 1860. The preacher E.A. Poole, who also favoured a congregational policy as being the nearest to the New Testament pattern, remarked: "It is impossible to organize a church without compromising that principle of Christianity that we are called unto liberty..." (39) If the church members had to belong to an organization on top of the local church system, a great apostacy could easily result. Continued Poole: "Then we have done all that is necessary to form a throne upon which the Man of Sin might sit, and rule in the temple of God" (40).

Considering the prevalent suspicions against a strong central organization, James White and his supporters had to act very cautiously, lest they spoil the chances of winning adequate support. White, therefore, sought to come near to the moderates around Andrews. In the decisive moment, on the last day of the deliberations, James White challenged the delegates to give up their primitive thinking, that everything connected with the complex affairs of running a modern religious movement could be literally supported from the Bible. He pressed the point and challenged the opponents to produce "one text of Scripture to show", that it was wrong to form a joint stock company to hold property according to the regulations of the State of Michigan. At the same time he made the reassuring assertion that no written creed would be attached to the application (41). Both the formalities over organization and the suspicion that a kind of a creed was to go with it were extremely sensitive points.

(37) RH, Oct. 16, 1860, pp. 169, 170.

(38) RH, Oct. 16, 1860, pp. 169, 170. Vol. XVI: 22.

(39) Ibid, p. 170.

(40) Ibid

(41) RH, Oct. 16, 1860, p. 170.

Before the voting occasion J. N. Andrews seems to have gone over to White's party and tried to persuade the opponents to support James White's proposal to create an organization that was in complete harmony with the New Testament requirements. This was a remarkable statement, which not even James had dared to make. Nevertheless Andrews could write as he did "This New Testament Church, constituted just exactly as we find it in the New Testament". Such a model could not be against "Bro. Butler's ideas at all" (42). It is significant that Andrews added the sentence, that "the Bible does not enter into all our duties" (43). Thus Andrews sacrificed logic and consistency for the higher aims of trying to achieve an organization which was thought to benefit the movement. This was undoubtedly a kind of tolerable situation ethics.

In the same way Waggoner was won over to the James White camp. However, the full range of the ideas James White had in mind was not revealed in 1860. Diplomatic expressions were reflected, when Andrews remarked that "this is not a legal church organization, but a legal business association..." (45). By such statements the majority of the delegates were reassured, that no Babylon-type-of-organization was ever thought of. After the battle was won, James White felt free to comment: "It is our privilege to stand ourselves on what the Bible will sustain us in" (46). So strong was the literalist interpretation of the Bible in the group, that the leaders had to try to find some texts to support their policy, though no "proof texts" seemed to be available. And we should not in any way consider this attitude dishonest. Every church that is "Bible-based" is confronted with the same problem.

c. The Denominational Name

When the discussions in reference to the important issue of getting a "biblical" organization were over, it remained to find a suitable name for the new denomination. Again the brethren entered a sensitive area, because many contended, that it was wrong to adopt an official name: a characteristic in "fallen" churches. Possibly a designation like "the Church of God" could be tolerated, since this term was found in the Bible. James White could not see any light in this view, however, and supported the idea of "having a name." Joseph Bates, the chairman, managed to make the delegates vote for a business association, "The Advent Review Publishing Ass" as a designation for the publishing house (47). The ice was then broken, and the next steps could be taken: to decide on an official name for the new religious organization. This was no easy matter either.

(42) Ibid, p. 171. Emphasis supplied.

(43) RH, Oct. 23, 1860, p. 177.

(44) Ibid

(45) Ibid. Italics supplied.

(46) Ibid

(47) RH, Oct. 23, 1860.

Since the collapse of Miller's revival, several names had been suggested for the Sabbatarian minority group. Some form of "Advent" was logical to use in this connection; the important church paper was called the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. The Sunday-keeping Millerites, who rejected the Sabbath on Saturday and the ministry of EGW, were generally referred to as "nominal Adventists" or "First-day Adventists" by the Sabbatarian group. This usage should have been of some consequence to the Sabbatarian fathers, when they had reached the point of deciding on a name for their organization. However, there was no general support for the name, Seventh-day Adventists, before the sessions in the autumn of 1860. Some of the pioneers were decidedly against any name, and the rest cherished other designations. The American historian, Dr. Godfrey T. Anderson, has a telling paragraph on this multiplicity of suggestions in a recent essay. We quote:

"Before Sabbath keeping Adventists officially chose the name 'Seventh-day Adventists', they were referred to in a variety of ways, some of them almost anticipating the name finally chosen. There were references to them as 'the remnant', 'believers', and 'the scattered flock'. They were called 'Seventh day people', 'Sabbathkeeping Advent Believers', 'Sabbath keeping Adventists', 'Seventh-day Brethren', 'Advent Sabbathkeepers', 'Seventh-day Doorshutters', (sic!) 'Church of God', 'Seventh Day Evangelists', 'Sabbathkeeping Remnant of Adventists', and 'Shut-door Seventh-day Sabbath and Annihilationists.' (48)

Indeed, those names cover a substantial area of Adventist history. The whole question of "making us a name" as Roswell F. Cottrell, a former Seventh Day Baptist, expressed it in his protest, was a sensitive issue among the independent literalist founders of the SDA Church (49). Many radicals in different camps resented any "name-making", apart from terms that could be derived directly from the Bible. Such possibilities were "Christians", a sect that many of the Millerites had belonged to, or the high sounding name "Church of God", which James White and many others advocated (50). Seventh-day Adventists was not thought to be scriptural (51). Right up to the time of the conference in the autumn of 1860 James White's choice, "Church of God" seemed to have had the greatest support.

But there was no general agreement. It is interesting to observe the names that were chosen for two new churches in the first part of 1860. The Parkville congregation called themselves "The Parkville Church of Christ's Second Advent", and the Adventist church at Fairfield, Iowa, decided for the cherished name, "The church of the living God" (52).

(48) Godfrey T. Anderson in *Adventist Heritage*, July 1974, p. 29.

(49) RH, Sep. 25, 1860, pp. 147-149.

(50) *Ibm*, p. 148. *Adventist Heritage*, July 1974, p. 31.

(51) *Adventist Heritage*, July 1974, p. 29. RH Sep. 1860-Nov. 6, 1860.

(52) *Adventist Heritage*, July 1974, p. 30.

In the decisive sessions about the denominational name, the old favourite "Church of God" had its stern supporters. But with the continuation of the discussions, this "scriptural" name gradually lost its old appeal. Some felt that it sounded presumptuous and more or less objectionable to the world outside the "remnant church." At last, it dawned to the delegates, that the name chosen must somehow reflect the characteristic features of the teachings of the body. Then the name Seventh-day Adventists seemed to be most fitting. That proposal was finally accepted by the majority of the delegates; but one delegate, T.J. Butler, opposed it and four of the pioneers, including the prestigious J.N. Andrews, did not vote (53). James White followed the majority trend and EGW blessed the decision with an indelible statement. She declared:

"I was shown in regard to the remnant people of God taking a name. Two classes were represented before me. One class embraced the great bodies of professed Christians. They were trampling upon God's law and bowing to a papal institution... The other class, who were but few in number, were bowing to the great law giver. They were keeping the fourth commandment. The peculiar and prominent features of their faith were the observance of the seventh day, and the waiting of the appearing of our Lord from heaven... The name Seventh-day Adventist is a standing rebuke to the Protestant world. Here is the line of distinction between the worshippers of God and those who worship the beast and receive his mark." (54)

In EGW the denominational name is lauded as a kind of separating line between *Civitas Dei* and *Civitas Diaboli*. The keeping of the seventh day assumes a central position in Adventist ecclesiology, alongside with the apocalyptic interpretation of the role of the Sabbath. Here the Seventh-day Adventists sharpened the theology of a kindred group: the Seventh Day Baptists. The name is admittedly striking but somewhat lengthy. More than a hundred years after its adoption some members consider the name misleading, since Adventism is looked upon as being an expression for the whole Christian faith and not only for the Sabbath and some facets of eschatology. In 1860 it was only natural, however, to underline the sectarian factors, when the young SDA church had to fight hard for its survival.

Students of Adventist history notice how prudently James White acted to win the members for his plans. He was satisfied to secure a "simple organization" as a bridge-head to safeguard denominational property.

(53) *Ibm*, p. 32.

(54) White 1885a, p. 224. Italics added. (First publ. as a pamphlet in 1861.)

d. State Conferences

The next step was to bind the local church together in a so called State Conference (55). James White finally completed the plans with the addition of the General Conference. By this operation the initially congregational idea had to be given up. As the name "conference" suggests, Methodist influence can be seen behind this development. In this process Michigan logically came first, since the headquarters were located in that State.

When the more mature ideas on organization were presented and the final aim of the campaigning could be seen, opposition again revived. The Adventists in Wisconsin did not want to follow the example of their brethren in the State of Michigan. An independant preacher by the name of Phelps gave voice to his misgivings in the Review (56). He felt so badly about the organizational aims of James White and others that he had given up preaching. His decision forced White, the editor, to counteract the congregational tendencies in the church paper. He therefore wrote some straightforward articles refering to visions by his wife. His opponents were said to be on the "wrong" side in this issue and their articles were "reviewed" by White (57). EGW also wrote some Testimonies to the Church on the problem (58). Thanks to good promotion and hard work James could register a new victory on October 6, 1861, when the Michigan Conference of the Seventh-day Adventists was formed (59). The opposition was only natural: the local churches had been independent and James White had promised to form only a legal business association.

e. "Systematic Benevolence" and Tithing

No sect or church can exist without money; James White was most aware of this need. He also saw to it that the weak and poor movement improved its ability to procure funds for various activities. In order to teach the members a lesson in sacrifice and responsibility to the church's program, already in 1859 James White had presented a financial plan called Systematic Benevolence. This devise, which hardly was original with the Seventh-day Adventists, was a forerunner of the more demanding tithing system, meaning that every member pays one tenth of his income

(55) RH, Oct. 8, 1861, p. 148.

(56) RH, Oct. 1, 1861, p. 140. Two Adventist ministers in Iowa, B. F. Snook and W. H. Brinkerhoff, gave up preaching in connection with J. W.'s plans to form a strong central organization. Cf. SDAE 1966, p. 754.

(57) RH, Oct. 1, 1861, p. 140.

(58) White 1885a, pp. 270-272. The vision is dated Aug. 3, 1861, only a few weeks before the constitution of the first State Conference in Michigan.

(59) RH, Oct. 8, 1861, pp. 148, 149.

to the Church. The novel idea of systematic benevolence was backed up by reference to St. Paul's advice to the church at Corinth (60). Whereas the apostle had the poor in mind, White interpreted the text rather freely and to support the tithing system to finance all church activity, and foremost the expenses for the ministry.

James summed up his economical program in a few points: 1. Let each brother from eighteen to sixty lay aside from five to twenty-five cents per week; 2. the sisters who earned less were recommended to contribute only from two to ten cents per week; 3. in addition to the offerings from income, James included a kind of church tax on property, amounting from one to five cents to every hundred dollars (61). This was the nucleus of James White's "systematic benevolence."

The plan gives evidence of Elder White's talents to make one sacrificing unit of the group, based on each individual's ability to pay. It turned out to be a success from the beginning. Only a month after its presentation, so many had accepted the idea, that the pledges amounted to more than ten thousand dollars per month. That sum seems to have been adequate to support "thirty humble, plain, economical missionaries and leave them free from all pecuniary embarassments" (62).

A few years after James White had published his initial article on Systematic Benevolence, EGW followed suit and published a short, pointed "testimony." While James White referred to the apostle Paul and the New Testament, EGW drew her scriptural evidences from the Old Testament. An important statement reads: "I was pointed back to the children of Israel anciently. God required of them all, both poor and rich, a sacrifice according as He had prospered them" (63). Members, who lagged behind in the program of offering, were rebuked and encouraged to "come up to... the plan of systematic benevolence" (64). Not even heavy debts or the burden of a large family were accepted as a valid ground for not taking part in the support of the cause. Farmers, who undoubtedly were in the majority camp among the members, were warned not to hesitate from taking part in the plan, lest their harvest and also their flocks be cursed. The drastic case of Ananias and Sapphira was mentioned as a serious warning to those who had stated too low figures for their capital. EGW enforced:

"They will put down their possessions at very low figures. Here they dissemble. Said to the angel: 'Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully.' Angels are watching the development of character, and the acts of such are carried to heaven by the heavenly messenger. Some will be visited of God for these things,..." (65)

(60) Ibm, Feb. 3, 1861, p. 84.

(61) Ibm

(62) Ibm

(63) White 1885a, pp. 220-222.

(64) Ibm, p. 220.

(65) Ibm, p. 222.

EGW continued her reproof of slothful members by criticizing their use of tobacco, tea and coffee. Instead of spending money on such unnecessary things, the money should be donated to the church. EGW referred to the classical words of Malachi on tithes and offerings (66). The articles concluded with an admonition to support the church faithfully in the new Systematic Benevolence plan. This fairly modest program was soon to give way for the more taxing tithing system (67). Both organization and revenue to the church increased by degrees.

f. The General Conference - The Capstone in SDA Organization

The third step in James White's organization plans was taken in the spring of 1863. While the devastating Civil War was raging, White explained why he thought it necessary to enlarge the control over the small movement. He stressed four points. 1. If a central organization came into being, the ministers could use school houses and public halls, as soon as they could prove that they belonged to a recognized group; 2. with such an authority the leaders could exert satisfactory control over the ministers, when all licences or recommendations were issued from one central organization; 3. the pastoral discipline and care of the members was likely to improve, when the directions came from one point; 4. the economy of the church was expected to be strengthened, if all churches were linked to one office and could pay all their offerings to the General Conference.

The Civil War problems hastened the making of a central organization, for during this terrible conflict Sabbatarian Adventists had to formulate their position as to war. For a long time there was apparent disagreement in the war question (70). There was an old Millerite tradition to favour pacifism. The leaders hoped that the group could be granted the same privileges as the Quakers. To receive such rights, however, the Adventists must first organize as one recognized church body. In order to find an acceptable solution as to the draft problem one of the leaders, John Nevins Andrews, therefore, went to Washington D.C. to have inter-

(66) White 1885a, p.222.

(67) SDAE 1966, pp.1318,1319. To pay tithe is not compulsory in members, but those who neglect it are not considered to be members in good and regular standig, and they cannot hold any office in the Church.

(68) RH, Sep.30, 1862, p.140. SDAE 1966, pp.1287-1290.

(69) RH, Aug.27, 1862, p.140. White 1885a, pp.253-268.

(70) This writer intends to write a separate essay on the problems connected with the development of pacifism in the SDA Church during the Civil War.

views with the political leaders (71). The trip could be undertaken as the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventists in America had been established a short time before (72).

The final step in the evolution of the top organization could be completed after a month of hard discussions. Even at this stage White complained about the lukewarm attitude of many leaders. Evidently some men feared the implications of a central monolithic organization. White reproved such preachers for demonstrating a "lawless independence" which had always characterized the Adventists "as a people" (73). Only two months prior to the completion of the General Conference, James White reported, that there was "hardly a church from Maine of Minnesota", that had not been like a battle field during the campaigns for the General Conference (74). It was easy to express conditions in such terms, when the Civil War was raging in the land.

The role of James White in the building of the SDA denomination must be stressed much more definitely than has been the case in popular denominational writings. An organization which is created to last, needs something else besides a prophet to endure; down to earth administrators can never be dispensed with. It was in this capacity that James stepped in to meet the expectations of the middle-in-the-road-men. The reorganization of the Millerite radicals into an orderly denomination was primarily the work of the protégé of the prophet. The deliberations over organization turned out to be so hard, because it cut across of Millerite tradition and the understanding of ecclesiology as the average Adventist understood it, according to his interpretation of the Bible.

During the heat of the battle White could not help making some enemies among the believers. This fact goes far to explaining, why Elder John Byington and not James White, the logical candidate, was elected the first President of the General Conferences in May 1863 (75). Later, however, James White was elected president for several terms.

With the completion of the central organization the Adventists had the potentiality of becoming an "iron wheel" as critics like Cottrell had feared. In James White's life time up to 1881, and even longer, the Gene-

(71) The best scholarly work on pacifism in the United States is Peter Brock's diss. Cf Brock 1968. See also Spalding 1961, p.324. We should know that Wm. Miller and J.V.Himes became pacifists.

(72) Spalding 1961, p.324.

(73) RH, Jul7, 1862, p.44.

(74) Ibm, Mar.31, 1863.

(75) Ibm, May 26, 1863, p.205.

ral Conference was not very impressive (76), but functioned mainly in a patriarchal way, with the president as a kind of Moses to the members. The later developments until the present day with a monolithic, "water-tight" organization, with its Conferences, Unions, and Divisions belong to another period.

The S.D.A. Church is a predominantly Presbyterian organization. Lay people have no real influence above that of the local church level. From a sociological point of view, this change is of great importance. For with the acquisition of impressive institutions, such as churches, headquarters, schools, publishing houses, and hospitals, the "Advent movement" must be looked upon as a group approaching denominational status, or at least that of an "established sect" (77).

IV. Some Leading Doctrines

The period 1845-1863 were the formative years for the S D A Church. During these two decades Sabbatarian Adventism received its indelible characteristics, when the so called doctrinal "landmarks" were formed. An important phase of consolidation took place simultaneously with the evolution of church government. To reach a consensus on doctrine was often difficult; long series of Bible study were combined with special messages from EGW.

a. The Millerite Heritage

Though the Sabbatarian Adventists had a definite relation to the main groups of the Millerite movement, and several apocalyptic ideas were inherited from Miller and his associates. This influence is most evident in the field of apocalypics and eschatology. When these ideas are given a primary interest, the bulk of pan-Christian doctrines tend to be neglected. An analysis of the doctrinal history of the S.D.A. Church shows

- (76) There were then less than 3,500 members in all the U.S. Prior to 1861 the term "conference" always meant a gathering of believers, who were conferring on matters pertaining to doctrine and spiritual edification. From 1861, however, when the Michigan Conference was organized, the term received a novel meaning in line with Methodist parlance to mean a geographical unit, or territory over which a board operated. Cf. Spalding 1961, p. 305. SDAE 1966, pp. 929-933.
- (77) Reference is made to Bryan Wilson's designation. Cf. also Schwarz 1970, pp. 39-40, 70-136, 211-215.

that a thorough study in the soteriological subjects did not take place until 1888 (1). By taking over the Millerite heritage, the SDA Fathers had to tackle a difficult problem: how to reinterpret the October failure in a Christian setting. In the early years an abnormal situation prevailed, and the few fathers lacked the theological schooling required for this task. It so happened, that immature doctrinal views were accepted, such as O. R. L. Crosier's interpretation of the "special atonement" to have commenced on October 22, 1844.

The classical apocalyptic exponent in the SDA Church is Uriah Smith, the benign editor of the Review for about fifty years. Smith expressed his apocalypics in the widely circulated classic, *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*, which appeared after 1863 (2). The "great apostasy" was associated with the rise of the Papacy. That idea was not at all unique; on the contrary it represented the view of all Protestant Evangelicals in America. Smith's *Thoughts*, and still more so EGW's *Great Controversy*, which first appeared in 1858, made the early nineteenth century American apocalypics normative for the S.D.A. Church. The general pattern in Smith's apocalypics he shared with most Protestant expositors. Exceptions were some typical Sabbatarian views, such as the notion that the young American republic fulfilled the description of the second beast in Revelation 13. According to this concept, America would soon abolish the democratic rights for Sabbath keepers and give legal force to gruesome Sunday restrictions. This would become the "mark of the beast." But even so the editor lauded American Evangelicals in their pre-1844 history as being genuine Bible Christians. It is, therefore, not difficult to detect great similarities between Smith's *Thoughts* and EGW's *Great Controversy*. The two books had their roots in the same soil. To be sure, Smith enjoyed great prestige in the Adventist circles. There was even a persistent rumour, that EGW had seen in vision how an angel had guided his hand, when he wrote the book. It is, moreover, a fact that Smith's *Thoughts* until this day has been the most authoritative work on the Apocalypse in the S D A Church (2a).

An examination of the contents in EGW's first draft of *Great Controversy* and Smith's later *Thoughts* shows that all the basic apocalyptic ideology was derived from Millerite exposition. Important here is the notion of Daniel and the Revelation as an unbroken prophetic history of human affairs from Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon to the Parousia (2b). Another fundamental idea in reference to apocalyptic interpretation refers to the theory of the so called year-day principle. One day in prophecy should be interpreted as one literal year. This view is important to the interpretation of the great apostasy during the "Dark Ages" and the supre-

- (1) Froom 1971, pp. 188-343. Olson 1966.
(2) Smith 1883.
(2a) Smith 1944a et b.
(2b) Smith 1883, chs 2, 7. White 1858, chs. 21-28, Cf. infra, pp.

macy of the papal Antichrist for the 1260 "days" to end in 1798. All this was stock in trade goods for nineteenth century Protestant expositors (2c).

The most obvious anti-Catholic animus in Sabbatarian Adventism was further focused in EGW's and Smith's expositions. The reason for this stronger emphasis, of course, referred to the Roman-Catholic concern about Sunday keeping, which the Adventists regarded as the future "mark of the beast." One could continue to point out several other common apocalyptic ideas in Millerite and S D A apocalyptic thinking, such as the understanding of the Turks as the Kingdom of the North or the "sick man", and the glory of the new Republic, the United States (2d). These actions were the "signs of the times", or the harbingers of the second coming.

These items the S D A founders shared with all Millerites; but there were also important differences. The role of the United States as the future second beast in Revelation 13 was one such deviation. The interpretation of the "sanctuary" to be cleansed, according to Daniel 8, 14 was another clear difference. And so were the views of the millennium and the final destiny of man. Thus the S D A founders rejected Miller's hell preaching (3).

b. The Sacramental Understanding

Sabbatarian Adventism is of the Baptist persuasion and believes in baptism by immersion, after a confession of faith. This view has been original with the SDA Church, since most leaders belonged to a Baptist group, such as the Christians or the Christian Connection (4). But no specific theology on baptism has been expressed by the SDA fathers. EGW has made some revealing statements, however. Before immersion the candidate must have experienced a genuine conversion and taken part in a thorough catechetical course of Bible studies (5). Baptism is said to be the gate to the Kingdom of God, and also an act of obedience to the Saviour's command (6). At the same time the sacramental understanding, of the act is evident, since baptism is interpreted as a means for cleansing the candidate from sin (7). The rite should preferably be performed out in nature, in a clear stream of water (8). The holy ordinance is administered

(2c) Froom 1954, pp. 15-428.

(2d) Smith 1883, pp. 480-499, 503-508, 546-642. White 1858, chs. 35-37.

(3) Smith 1883, ch. 20. White 1858, pp. 133-173, 211-219.

(4) James White and Joseph Bates belonged to this affiliation of Baptists; EGW was baptized by immersion, although she was a Methodist.

(5) After 1931 the Fundamental Beliefs of SDAs have been published yearly in official handbooks. These doctrinal tenets contain the sum of the prebaptismal instruction. Cf. Froom 1971, pp. 418-426. SDA Church Manual 1951, pp. 29-36.

(6) White 1885, pp. 19, 20.

(7) White 1898, p. 104.

(8) White 1900, p. 97.

in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. By this act the candidate swears an oath of allegiance to Christ and renounces the world. The exposition of the apostle Paul in Romans six is quoted as a fitting interpretation. The sinner dies to the world and rises to a new life "in Christ" (9). It is, indeed, hard to put the finger on any specific ideas on baptism in the remarks of EGW. Many Baptist groups share these sentiments.

Like most Protestant denominations the SDA Church has only two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper. EGW even used the term "sacrament" for the holy communion, but never in the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist. On the contrary it is correct to mention, that the theology of the Reformed Churches is most conspicuous in the Adventist understanding of the communion. The participants receive the emblems, which consist of unleavened bread and unfermented grape juice (10), while the communicants remain seated in their pews. The holy emblems are distributed by ordained deacons; the wine is kept in small separate cups. Before the administration, the bread and the "wine" are blessed by a special *ex tempore* prayer by the pastor or the ordained local elder.

The communion service is said to commemorate or symbolize the death of Christ (11). It also points to the Second Coming and so fits well into the theology of Adventism. One can discern concepts of Christ's spiritual presence in EGW's exposition of the Last Suppers. We read in her best known work:

"And the betrayer was privileged to unite with Christ in partaking of the Sacrament ... the administration of the Sacrament was to keep before the disciples the infinite sacrifice made for each of them individually as a part of the great whole of fallen humanity. ... As faith contemplates our Lord's great sacrifice, the soul assimilates the spiritual life of Christ. That soul will receive spiritual strength from every Communion." (13)

Considering the "energizing" effects of the Holy Communion EGW recommended, that the sacrament be administered "often" (14). In harmony with the spirit of the Gospel and the recommendations of EGW, the SDA Church adheres to the policy of open communion. Only "open sin excludes the guilty" (15).

(9) White 1882, p. 217. *Ibm.* 1885 c, p. 41.

(10) White 1898, p. 653, 148, 149. EGW was consistent in her view that *oinos* always means unfermented grape juice.

(11) White 1898, pp. 652, 653, 659.

(12) *Ibm.* This idea comes very natural to members who read the Pauline tradition in 1. Cor. 11 at the communion service.

(13) White 1898, pp. 655-661.

(14) White 1946, p. 276.

(15) White 1898, p. 656. *Ibm.* 1946, pp. 276, 277.

c. Feet-Washing

Prior to the communion service, Sabbatarian Adventists partake in the feet washing rite. From an historical point of view we have already observed how this idea crept into the ranks of Sabbath keeping adventists after the disappointment by the influence of some literalist groups (16). The literalists at Exeter, Portland Me., and in many other places practiced feet washing as a special "test" to separate the remnant from the "rebellious" majority groups. Young EGW recommended sisters to wash the feet of brethren, referring to New Testament precedence patterns (17). Likewise the young prophet believed in the idea of saluting the "holy brethren with a holy kiss" (18). Whether sisters followed this injunction in the early years, prior to the organization, is hard to say, since no documents are extant. Today the oriental salutation is not practiced in the SDA Church (18a). Strict decency, complete separation between the sexes in the sacramental rite of feet washing, has been the rule. When a religious group nears denominational status the liturgy tends to be refined.

In *Desire of Ages* a motivation is given for the rite of feet washing (19). Commenting on the Johannine exposition EGW discerns a sacramental element also in feet washing. One central paragraph reads:

"When Jesus girded Himself with a towel to wash the dust from their feet, He desired by that very act to wash the alienation, jealousy, and pride from their dusty feet. With the spirit they then had, not one of them was prepared for communion with Christ... Pride and self-seeking create dissension and hatred, but all this Jesus washed away in washing their feet." (20)

Considering the sacramental aspect in feet washing, Adventists often refer to the act as the "little baptism." According to EGW, Jesus made a sacrament of the common, humble act, usually performed by slaves. Christ changed the meaning of the profane practise, and so "this humiliating ceremony was made a consecrated ordinance" (21).

In connection with the rite, each participant searches his own heart and puts things right with his brother in confession, if he has offended him. EGW has well expressed this thought:

(16) Above, pp.

(17) EGW commented: "I saw that the Lord had moved upon sisters to wash the feet of brethren, and that it was according to gospel order. All should move understandingly, and not make the washing of feet a tedious ceremony." White 1854, p. 31.

(18) White in DS, Jan. 24, 1946. White 1854, p. 31.

(18a) The author's observation.

(19) White 1898, chapter XXXX.

(20) *Ibm*, p. 646. Italics supplied.

(21) *Ibm*, p. 650.

"The holy Watcher from heaven is present at this season (of feet washing) to make it one of soul searching, of conviction of sin, and of the blessed assurance of sins forgiven. Christ in the fullness of His grace is there to change the current of thoughts that have been running in selfish channels. The Holy Spirit quickens the sensibilities of those who follow the example of their Lord...

Defects of character, neglect of duties. Ingratitude to God, coldness toward our brethren, are called to remembrance. Sin is seen in the light in which God views it. Our thoughts are not thoughts of self-complacency, but of severe self-censure and humiliation. The mind is energized to break down every barrier that has caused alienation. Evil thinking and evil-speaking are put away. Sins are confessed, they are forgiven. The subduing grace of Christ comes into the soul, and the love of Christ draws hearts together in a blessed unity." (22)

Considering the deeply spiritual significance of the rite, EGW taught that the act should take place prior to the communion service, in order to help the communicants to get a full measure of holy joy and spiritual refreshing on that occasion. Visitors, who want to share the communion with the Adventist brethren, do not have to take part in this unusual act, in order to be admitted to the subsequent communion service (24).

d. The Sabbath Theology

A very important component in the rise of this literalist adventist group was the acceptance of the "seventh-day Sabbath", or the idea to celebrate the period from sunset Friday to sunset Saturday as the weekly day of rest. This "sign" of the remnant was also made a part of the denominational name. We shall trace the historical development of the doctrine and analyse the theological understanding of the Sabbath. Already before the

(22) *Ibm*, pp. 650, 651.

(23) White 1946, pp. 276, 277.

(24) Dr. Leslie Hardinge of Pacific Union College, Angwin, Calif., has shown that feet-washing was practiced in groups, belonging to the Celtic Church. Hardinge 1968, chs. 1-2. Members in the so called Radical Reformation of the 16th century in Germany also practised this rite, and perhaps some Christians in the Waldensian Church. Zinzendorf's Brethren practiced feet-washing until the 1830's. Cf. Williams 1962, chs. 4-9. Holmquist-Nørregaard 1949a, pp. 490-491.

Disappointment a few Millerites in New Hampshire had commenced to celebrate the new day of rest, unaware of the opposition from the Millerites at Albany (25).

Again their biblical hermeneutics decided the case (26). In the United States the "Seventh-day" had been observed as the day of rest by some Pietist groups from the middle of the 18th century. One group followed Conrad Beissel's teaching in the Ephrata settlement in Pennsylvania and kept the Sabbath; another branch of Sabbath keepers, a non-utopian sect, was known as the Seventh Day Baptists (27). A lady from the latter sect was the instrument in persuading some Millerites in Washington, New Hampshire, to rest on the last day of the week (28).

A veritable campaign for the Sabbath began when a former sea captain, Joseph Bates of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, became a Sabbatarian. On his own initiative, and with his own means, he printed Sabbath pamphlets, the best known any being, "The Seventh Day Sabbath - a Perpetual Sign", which appeared in 1846 (29). Bates had been one of the free lance lecturers and social reformers in Miller's revival, and the only Sabbatarian leader with a documented relation with the Millerites. In the first tract he reasoned mainly from Old Testament sources, where he found ample evidence for the Seventh-day institution. Like many other Christians at that time, he interpreted the Bible in a literal way and considered the whole of the sacred book as being inspired and valid for instruction. Since the Sabbath rest was given to man already at his creation, it could not be considered an exclusive command for Jews. All the Ten Commandments, including the fourth, according to Reformed practice, were binding for Christian (30).

Bates' Sabbath essay was primarily written for "honest" Millerites, in harmony with his shut door theology. Since those groups were used to castigating the Papacy as Antichrist, Bates forged an efficient weapon, when he argued, that the Papacy had changed the day of rest from the seventh day to the first day, or from Saturday to Sunday. This guilt he attributed to the "little horn" in Daniel seven i.e. the Roman Catholic Church (31).

(25) Spalding 1961, pp.115-118. Froom 1954, pp.942-945. There were also small pockets of Sabbath-keepers on Miller's left-wing. They were unorganized. DS Nov.1, 1845, p.1.

(26) Report 1845, pp.6,7. In the Catholic and Lutheran Catechism the Sabbath commandment is always a drastically abbreviated form of the third item.

(27) Tyler 1962, p.111. Clark 1968a, pp.172-175.

(28) Her name was Rachel Preston-Oakes.

(29) Bates 1846. The 48-page pamphlet was printed in only 250 copies. Cf. Anderson 1972, p.62.

(30) Bates 1846.

(31) Ibid, pp.5-12.

In another pamphlet Bates attacked Sunday keepers still more contending, that Sunday actually met the description in the Apocalypse, about the feared "mark of the beast" (32). The "beast" was the Papacy with its alliance with the secular powers. In a third tract Bates completed his reasoning and carried the line of argumentation to its conclusion by claiming, that the seventh day observance stood for the sign of God, while Sunday was the mark of the beast (33).

Bates' mission was not fruitless. Some Millerites studied the new ideas avidly and in a short time both Hiram Edson, the farmer whose name has been connected with the reinterpretation of the sanctuary "problem" (34), and the Whites had accepted the doctrine. Even after the bitter October experience they had been Sunday keepers (35). Later EGW received a confirmatory Sabbath vision. She then reported, that she had seen Jesus opening the "mercy seat" in the heavenly sanctuary, where she could read the Ten Commandments just as they are worded in Exodus 20. In this vision, EGW noticed that a mild halo rested above the despised Sabbath command. She was so impressed by this vision, that she became a confirmed Sabbath keeper. If a change as to the day of rest had occurred in the Christian era, she reasoned, this change must have been evident in the infallible script on the tables in heaven, which she had studied in vision (36). Adventists do not base their Sabbath tradition upon any EGW vision, however, but on their understanding of the Scriptures.

The novel Sabbath doctrine gave a new emphasis to the October date. Before October 22, 1844, EGW informed, God had not paid any particular attention to the desecration of the Sabbath. But after that date, everything had changed in reference to the day of rest. From 1844 onwards all Christians were bound to keep the Seventh-day Sabbath. The prophet remarked in 1849:

"... since Jesus had opened the door in the Most Holy Place, which contains the Ark, the commandments have been shining out to God's people, and they (37) are being tested on the Sabbath question." (38)

(32) Bates 1846a, pp.58,59.

(33) Bates 1849, pp.35-52.

(34) Cf. infra, pp.129ff.

(35) Anderson 1972, p.63.

(36) A vision April 7, 1847. This broadside was printed by Joseph Bates at New Bedford, Mass.

(37) Some denominational writers have understood this phrase to mean that EGW had repudiated Shut Door in its original double meaning. However, the context and wording do not support that idea.

(38) The Present Truth, Aug.1848, p.21.

Therefore 1844 to her meant a new beginning also in Christian beliefs (39). This reasoning, of course, motivated the rise of another movement in the world. In 1849 EGW had merely a partial and incomplete view of the history of Sabbatarian ("Saturday-keeping") Christendom, for then she was unaware of the later published books on Sabbatarian history. There were certainly groups of Sabbatarians in the Early Church and later in many sects in the Radical Reformation, to mention only two instances of this practice (40). In her later works, however, EGW benefited from John Nevins Andrews' historical works on the history of the Sabbath (41).

The important sect "specifics", such concepts as the sanctuary in heaven and the Sabbath were discussed at great length in the many so called Sabbath Conferences from 1848 (42).

In the early years, until 1855, Sabbatarian Adventists had observed their day of rest from six o'clock Friday evening to the same time on Saturday (43). This practice was advocated by the Sabbath apostle, Joseph Bates. When his influence diminished in favour of the new star, John Nevins Andrews, the six o'clock time was questioned (44). Two days after Andrews had presented his study in favor of the biblical sunset time, EGW made a short declaration in which she in a cautious way supported the sunset time. She declared:

"I saw that it is even so: 'from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your Sabbath,' Said the angel: 'Take the Word of God, read it, understand and ye cannot err. Read carefully, and ye shall find what even is, and when it is.'" (45)

This 1855 EGW statement can be interpreted in several ways. It is, moreover, evident how careful EGW was to convey the impression, that doctrines must be grounded in the Scriptures, and not primarily in her revelations.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Bacchiocchi 1975, pp.53-120. Williams 1962, chs.4-9. John Nevins Andrews completed his first ed. of History of the Sabbath in 1861. EGW could consult this work and its subsequent eds., while she was writing her Great Controversy in 1888 and 1911. Possibly influenced by A. she declared that "the true Sabbath" had been kept by all Christians in the first centuries. White 1911, p.52.

(41) EGW also maintained that the (Saturday) Sabbath had been observed by certain groups among the Waldensians. White 1911, p.577.

(42) Cf. Froom 1954, pp.1021-1027.

(43) Bates 1846, pp.3-12.

(44) RH, Dec.4, 1855. As to the weight of this article, cf. SDAE 1966, p.1118.

(45) White Broadside, Testimony for the Church, Dec.1855, Battle Creek, Mich.

In the later EGW works the relation between Christ and the Sabbath is made prominent. In accordance with her christological understanding the Jahve in the Old Testament was actually Jesus Christ (46). In his life on earth Jesus demonstrated how the Sabbath should be kept. EGW also showed the difference in practice and spirit between the Jewish and the Christian philosophy of Sabbath keeping (47). The Sabbath meets two basic needs in the Christian dispensation, she maintained. It is a day set apart for worship and communion with the Creator, and it also offers needed rest to tired bodies. Walks and meditation in the temple of Nature is therefore a commended occupation (48). In EGW's rich Sabbath teaching one also finds many strictures reminding us of the classical Puritan Sabbath observance. From the first minute to the last all worldly interests must be laid aside. The faithful members prepared the way for the holy Sabbath by finishing cooking and other necessities earlier, on Friday, which was "the day of preparation" (49).

e. Adventist "Sanctuary Theology"

The most important issue among Millerites after the Disappointment referred to the problem of the delayed Parousia (50). Since the Sabbatarian Adventists maintained that Snow was right, they also had to find a new interpretation of Daniel eight. The key text read in King James' version:

"And he said to me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." Dan. 8:14.

The understanding of this passage has undergone a long series of re-interpretations. Miller believed, as we have found, that the sanctuary to be cleansed was the earth, which should be purified in fire at the Parousia. After the Disappointment the sanctuary was thought to be the heavenly temple as suggested in the Book of Hebrews and the Revelation. The first intimation of a new ministration in heaven was presented by Turner and Hale, as we have already pointed out (51). This idea was then developed further by a trio of laymen expositors in upstate New York in 1845-1846. In this trio there was a farmer in Port Gibson, New York, not far from Joseph Smith's Hill Cumorah site, Hiram Edson. On the day after the Disappointment Edson had a kind of vision, as he strolled across his cornfield. He then "saw" how Jesus had gone from the Holy to the Most Holy Place. After this vision he began to explain the "mystery" of the delayed Parousia (52).

(46) White 1898, pp.281-289.

(47) Ibid, pp.206, 284, 285, 471, 474.

(48) Ibid, p.538.

(49) White 1885a, pp.702-703.

(50) Cf. supra, pp.

(51) Supra, pp.

(52) Edson manuscript, pp.8-10, LLUA. Loma Linda, Calif. Spalding mentions that the Edson m. was written many years after the event. Cf. Spalding 1961, pp.98-102.

Unfortunately Edson was not very lucid in his expositions of the new revelation. This assignment was, therefore, handed over to the other two men, Dr. F. B. Hahn, a medical practitioner in Canadaigua, N. Y. and in the first place to a young capable writer, O. R. L. Crosier. The preliminary draft was written in a Millerite journal in April 1845 (53). In amplified form this article appeared as an Extra of the Day-Star, on February 7, 1846. It was then the Whites were confronted with the new sanctuary theology. The Day-Star exposition seems to have taken the leaders with considerable surprise, for only a week after the article was printed EGW sent a letter to the editor of the journal in which she tried to convince him, that in fact she had been aware of the same ideas "one year ago" (54). But evidently, EGW referred to her letter of February 15, 1846, only a week after Crosier's epochal article was published. Her exposition merely reflects the old, shut door view in the *Advent Mirror* with insignificant embroiderings (55). This observation was first made by the former Adventist leader, Pastor L. R. Conradi (56). It is simply a fact that EGW recommended Crosier's essay "to every saint" (57). Another puzzling fact in connection with EGW's vision of Christ's new office in heaven Conradi also pointed out mentioning EGW's letter to Enoch Jacobs which was printed in the 1851 *Experience and Views* as the item, "End of the 2 300 days" (58). Unfortunately, however, Conradi missed a valuable clue to this problem, probably because he did not have access to all the early printed EGW "broadsides," because a close examination of EGW's second installment in an April 6, 1846 broadside shows that this vision of "February 1845", was included in *Experience and Views* in revised form without date. James White omitted the puzzling end of the broadside text (59). Such emendations show how important it is to read the EGW visions in the *prima manus* versions.

EGW's endorsement of Crosier's sanctuary exposition was not unproblematic, since the Day-Star article rejected the orthodox view of the atonement as once for all finished on the cross. Crosier reasoned in unorthodox terms, just because he had to find a *raison d'être* for the October date. Crosier instructed:

"But again, they (the Christian world) say that the atonement was finished on Calvary, when the Lamb of God expired.

- (53) Day Dawn, Apr. 1845. This was a shortlived Crosier journal, issued at Canadaigua, N. Y.
- (54) White to Enoch Jacobs, Feb. 15, 1846, as quoted in Conradi 1939, pp. 20, 21.
- (55) *Ibm.* Cf. *Advent Mirror*, Jan. 1845.
- (56) Conradi 1939, pp. 20-23.
- (57) WLF 1847, pp. 11, 12.
- (58) White 1851, pp. 45-46.
- (59) *Ibm.* It reads: "I saw one after another leave the company in the holiest, and go and join those before the throne, and they at once received an unholy influence of Satan."

So men have taught us, and so the churches and the world believe, but it is none the more true or sacred on that account, if unsupported by divine authority." (60)

We now proceed with a concise summation of Crosier's 1846 view of the "cleansing of the sanctuary", an extremely important exposition, which became the leading "landmark" for the future S D A Church. For this group had hung its whole existence on the validity of Snow's October date. At that juncture Crosier's novel hermeneutic was hailed with satisfaction among Sabbatarian shut door adherents. Crosier also maintained that he wrote his February article for the express purpose of confirming the shut door notion (61).

It is significant for the biblical understanding of the trio in upstate New York that they based a lion's share of their exposition on the Old Testament ritual service. Crosier's article was also called "The Laws of Moses" (62). In his sanctuary exposition Crosier interpreted the Jewish ceremonial sacrifices in the tabernacle to be "anti-typically" fulfilled in the ministry of Jesus Christ, on earth and in heaven. He divided Christ's heavenly ministration into two parts, in the so called Holy Place until October 22, 1844, to be followed by the final part in the Most Holy Place from that date. As a "proof text" for this division Crosier referred to the Book of Hebrews (63). Crosier here parted company with the orthodox expositors, who claim that Christ has been High Priest in the "hagia hagion" since his ascension (64). In order to find some support for the concept of the atonement in heaven from October 22, 1844, Crosier drew the line most sharply between two concepts in God's dealing with sin. There was a vast difference, he maintained, between the forgiveness of sin and the blotting out of sin. The final "blotting out" of sin was the decisive act of God in the heavenly sanctuary as from October 22, 1844.

Crosier did not account for the idea of the desecration of the heavenly temple during the long period of 2 300 years. In the first place he did not pay any attention to the primary implication of Daniel's description of the desolation of the earthly sanctuary and the defeat of the Jewish army (66).

It is only fair to mention that Crosier himself very soon saw some basic weaknesses in his early sanctuary exposition (67).

- (60) DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846, *Italics added.*
- (61) The Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate, Mar. 5, 1853, p. 301.
- (62) DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846.
- (63) *Ibm.* Hebr. chs. 7-10.
- (64) DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846.
- (65) DS Extra, Feb. 7, 1846.
- (66) The same word is used in Dan. 8:13 as the modern Hebrew term for the Israeli army.
- (67) The Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate, Mar. 5, 1853, p. 301. RH, Mar. 17, 1853, p. 176.

An important part in any discussion of the development of dogma in the S D A Church is the contribution of the young prophet. A study of the official documents without an exception maintain that all basic Adventist doctrines have been accepted on the basis of intensive Bible study, and not as a result of visions from EGW (68). However, there are some statements by the prophet that are of great importance.

In the formative years EGW was a young girl without any formal education, and even to her death she must be styled as an autodidact Messenger. Many years after the event, EGW made a most remarkable statement in reference to her conditions during the problematic shut door years. She declared:

"During this whole time (1845-about 1850) I could not understand the reasoning of the brethren. My mind was locked as it were and I could not comprehend the meaning of the scriptures we were studying. This was one of the greatest sorrows of my life. I was in this condition of mind until all the principal points of our faith were made clear to our minds, in harmony with the word (sic) of God. The brethren knew that when not in vision, I could not understand these matters, and they received as light from heaven the revelations given." (69)

At this juncture we have a good reason to ask some questions. From other EGW statements we know that EGW took a great interest in doctrinal issues, such as perfection, sanctification, and the problems of hell, before the October failure (70). A few months later, however, she is said to have lost all capacity of drawing any conclusions from the Holy Oracles. Her "mind was locked as if were." Could there be a motivation for this argument? Most likely the established prophet may have felt embarrassed at the insignificant role she played in the early formative years, so far as the doctrinal "landmarks" were concerned. If her early visions merely confirmed the views of the brethren, her own integrity as an inspired Messenger could very well have been questioned. If, on the other hand, it could be said that she had not understood a particle of what the senior brethren studied so assiduously, if her "mind was locked", then she could maintain her authority, even when the visions reflected common ideas. The idea of the lacuna or "black out" of the brain forces need not necessarily be considered a kind of pious fraud to relieve EGW from a predicament, for most likely she felt very inferior in the circle of the brethren in the early years. After all the suggestion of the mind lacuna can be explained in more than one way.

(68) Ibid, pp. 89, 90.

(69) White 1904, p. 57. Emphasis added. (Special Test, Ser. B.)

(70) White 1915, pp. 20-32. Ibid, 1860, pp. 14f.

In the same 1904 statement the old EGW tried to reconcile 1. the sola Scriptura principle and 2. the normative function of her own revelations. She continued:

"Again and again these brethren came together to study the Bible... When they came to the point in their study where they said: 'We can do nothing more', the Spirit of the Lord would come upon me, I would be taken off in vision, and a clear explanation of the passage we had been studying would be given me, with instruction as to how we were to labor and teach effectively." (71)

If this late EGW statement is taken at its face value, her revelations certainly played a central role in the evolution of the "landmarks." Then the consistent sola Scriptura position for the S D A Church can hardly be maintained (72), since the EGW visions have a normative function in matters of doctrines. For EGW frankly stated:

"Thus light was given that helped us understand the scriptures in regard to Christ, His mission, and His priesthood. A line of truth extending from that time (in the formative shut door years) to the time when we shall enter the city of God, was made plain to me,..." (73)

So EGW could write about five decades after the events. With the exception of the diehard time setting habit in the brethren, however, EGW in all basic teachings confirmed established views. The "light in regard to Christ, His mission, and His priesthood" in those early days, which in places was unorthodox, did not derive from her visions. The new understanding of the sanctuary for example was presented by O.R.L. Crosier and later endorsed by EGW.

Our analysis of EGW's position in the formative years does not in any way detract from the authority of the prophet. Even if she played a secondary role in reference to the formulation of the doctrines, her contribution was nevertheless important; for it was her visions that gave force to the views of the pioneers and created stability. But the visions also caused problems in a later period, when 1844 and Crosier's views had to be revised (74).

Only a few important S D A doctrines have been examined in this chapter. Intentionally other significant tenets, such as soteriology or the view of health have been omitted on the ground that those concepts will be dealt with in another connection (75).

(71) White 1915, pp. 20-32. Ibid, 1860, pp. 14 f.

(72) Today the S D A Church also defends this "Bible only" position. Froom 1971, pp. 91-107.

(73) White 1904, p. 57. (Special Test, Ser. B.)

(74) Cf. QD 1957, chs. 1-9.

(75) Infra, pp.

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Broadsides

The term refers to a text printed on only one side of a fairly large page.
The first item of the category appears under Ellen's maiden name, Ellen
G. Harmon.

To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad. Portland, Me., Apr. 6, 1846
(12 x 16 inches) (LRSA)

A Vision New Bedford, Mass. Apr. 7, 1847. Benjamin Lindsey.
(8 1/2 x 13 inches)

To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God. Topsham, Me.
Jan. 31, 1849. (11 x 16 inches)

Books-Pamphlets.

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(64 pp) Generally referred to as "Experience and Views."
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Chapter Three

THE YOUNG ELLEN WHITE 1827 - 1856

General Introduction

I. The Historical Sources and Research on EGW

Nearly the whole collection of the EGW documents is located in one place, in the vaults of the Ellen G. White Estate in Washington D.C. In many respects this arrangement should be of a great help to scholars, who want to do research in Adventist history. Many writers, however, are confronted with considerable problems, when they try to get access to the files. For, in fact, the important archives are strictly private. And this regulation has been in force, since the lifetime of the prophet. After her death, in accordance with her will, a small group of men, originally only five members, the so called trustees, were given unlimited rights to guard and protect the interests of EGW's works and manuscripts (1). But there is no direct statement in EGW's will to support the idea of the restrictions, in reference to the unpublished documents.

The original five trustees later increased in number, as the S.D.A. Church grew in membership and outreach. Today there are representatives also from South America and Switzerland on that board. Moreover a committee of the General Conference also counsels those trustees. This shows how important the EGW writings are to the denomination.

Another striking observation in reference to the manuscripts is the prominent position near relatives to the prophet have held through the years. After the death of James White in 1881, his son, William White, served as his mother's trusted amanuensis (3). When Willie White died, his son, the present Secretary, Arthur L. White, became the most illustrious trustee.

Permission for non-trustees to consult the manuscript files may be granted to denominational writers by the boards: the trustees and the General Conference "Spirit of Prophecy" Committee. Provided the board members are convinced, that the use of unpublished material will be used "in a right way", to strengthen confidence in EGW, "unreleased" material may be used for a new work. If so, the writer is expected to work in close co-operation with the Secretary. The motivation for such regulations is obvious. Since EGW is a key person in the SDA Church, or the prophet for the last days, the responsible leaders are anxious to preserve the image of EGW as it has been presented in Adventist tradition. No research must infringe upon the doctrine. Mainly defensive works are therefore published by the

- (1) SDAE 1966, pp. 373-375. There are no direct indications in the EGW will to prove that she supported a so called unreleased policy for her writings.
- (2) Ibid, p. 374.
- (3) EGW claimed that the Lord had shown her in vision that her son Willie should assist her in her writing as the "servant" of God. White 1958, pp. 50, 54, 55.

official channels (4). With a free access to the vaults for researchers unwanted reinterpretations of EGW and denominational history are of course likely to follow.

The present policy, which is typical in the sect type of organization, could now be expected to give room for an "open door" policy, when the Church has grown to become a more or less complete denomination. The wise decision of the Roman Catholic Church to unlock the important archives in the Vatican Library could serve as a guide to the Adventist Church. For with the present regulations important material, considered inspired, is held back even from devout church members.

The EGW source collections are tidily kept, even if they are catalogued in a peculiar way. This may be due to the fact that in the beginning no trained archivists worked in the vaults. Another thing one notices is the way letters are classified. It seems as if the archivists have tried to turn EGW documents, which from the beginning were private letters to individuals, into an impersonal source, in order to be able to use the contents in a general way (5) for the benefit of the whole church body. The same tendency is evident in the printed Testimonies for the Church, where the original names, and sometimes also places, have been omitted (6). Likewise every historian must regret the fate of an unnumbered mass of prima manus EGW documents. For when typewriters came into general use, some time in the 80s, all handwritten manuscripts were typed, the original manuscripts were often destroyed. Minor emendations were then made also in the text pertaining to spelling and grammar. So far as the present writer has been able to check the case, however, where the original manuscript can be compared with the typed copies, no changes have been made which affect the meaning of the text in any significant way. The reverent attitude towards EGW from the side of the caretakers of the files goes far to explaining this. In spite of the loss of priceless prima manus documents, the remaining treasure of documents constitutes a unique source of first hand information on Adventist history; a well which is almost untapped so far.

The unpublished documents, which amount to several thousand items, can be divided into three main categories: 1. the EGW letters and her diaries; 2. EGW manuscripts to books and other publications; and 3. letters to EGW, mostly from denominational leaders.

Apart from the files in Washington there exist private collections of genuine EGW material. In California the respected President of Loma Linda Medical School, Percy T. Magan, M.D., gathered communications

- (4) Arthur L. White to the author, Jun. 2, 1970.
- (5) Both the date and addresses of them are erased and instead other designations are used, such as, L30- 1850, or H-8-1850.
- (6) Cf. Testimonies for the Church, Vols. I-V.

from EGW (7). Magan was an intimate friend of the White family. And only recently, a major addition of unreleased EGW letters and other denominational letters were added to the vaults of EGW documents, when about 2000 items, belonging to the Lucinda Hall collection, were discovered (7a). In this collection there are approximately fifty EGW letters.

The second category of primary EGW material consists of the printed works. When EGW died in 1915, she had written some 4.600 articles for various journals and some 24 books (8). After her death, the number of printed works has increased with an additional 30 titles, as a result of the unceasing toil of the trustees. The problems these compiled books pose will be dealt with in another connection (9).

Due to a special favour from the side of the understanding Secretary of the EGW Publications, Pastor Arthur L. White, the present writer could make extensive research of the "unreleased" material for approximately two months (10). These new findings could be used for the presentation of important periods in Adventist history.

Only some tentative sketches have been written on EGW by non-Adventist scholars. Dr. E. Schick has some remarks about EGW in his essay, "Ekstase in Protestantismus" (11), and a German "Volkskunde" specialist, Dr. Irmgard Simon, has composed an appreciative study, amounting to some ten pages (12).

The only "Life" of EGW that exists so far is the polemical contribution by Pastor D. M. Canright, a former high official in the SDA Church (13). One only regrets that Canright, who knew EGW so intimately, spoiled his chances of writing a balanced description by his hostility to the movement. Nevertheless his Life of Mrs. Ellen G. White cannot be neglected.

Most works that have been produced so far in this genre, however, have been of the apologetical sort, intended to serve the denomination. The foremost book of this kind is Francis D. Nichol's Ellen G. White

- (7) The A. W. Spaulding and Percy T. Magan Coll. of Unpubl. Manuscript Testimonies 1915-1916. LLUA. Loma Linda, Calif.
- (7a) RH, Aug. 16, 1973.
- (8) SDAE 1966, p. 1413. Acc. to the estimation of the Secretary of the EGW Publ. there are some 60.000 pages of unprinted EGW manuscripts. Arthur L. White to the author, Jun. 2, 1970.
- (9) SDAE 1966, pp. 1414-1418.
- (10) Pastor Arthur L. White, who is the grandson of Mrs. White, considered a moderate member on the board of trustees. At the present time (1975) he is working on a comprehensive "Life of Mrs. Ellen G. White." Pastor W. has recommended the "release" of certain EGW documents and has promoted the printing of old EGW works.
- (11) Spoerri, Schick and others 1968, pp. 40, 41.
- (12) Simon 1965, pp. 61-75.
- (13) Canright 1919.

and Her Critics (14). Nichol wrote his magnum opus as a rebuttal to all the major "charges" or objections raised through the years against the EGW writings. In the large book, amounting to some 700 pages, Nichol never once admitted that EGW had taught any error or made any real mistakes in her writings. In Critics she is portrayed as a superhuman agent for the Almighty. To criticize EGW then almost means the same thing as attacking Jehovah. Nichol's work has been neglected by e.g. many European Adventists, who reject the infallibility concept for the prophet.

Nichol was a gifted defensive writer and acted like a trained lawyer in his apologetical works. This mentality and approach belongs to a former period in American denominationalism, when the religious bodies fought one another tooth and nail. Only recently, however, another popular work on EGW was published, written in the old style. This time an Adventist free lance writer, who had served as a war correspondent in Europe, was accredited to write on EGW with a kind of semi-official "imprimatur" approval. The book carries the significant title, Ellen G. White - Prophet of Destiny (15). Noorbergen's presentation of EGW was influenced by his previous preoccupation with some of America's present day "psychics" (16). Noorbergen found EGW much more reliable than Jean Dixon and others in this genre. However, there is definitely a great risk involved here, because EGW was basically a holiness prophet and not a kind of modern Sybil. Noorbergen's observations carry some weight in another respect, however, as a contribution in the field of religious psychology. Prophet of Destiny shows how members in White Estate want EGW to be promoted (17).

II. Social and Religious Subculture in Maine and New England Prior to 1845

When Ellen Gould Harmon (White) was born at Gorham, Maine, on November 27, 1827 the United States of America was a young nation, less than fifty years old. Maine had been detached from Massachusetts to become a State of its own only in 1820. The conditions in Maine at the end of the 18th century has been described by one writer as "a new country in many respects, sparsely settled, with an odd mixture of many' kindred, nations, tongues and people' poorly cultivated by a people of plain manners, with a very little refinement, and a loose morality" (18). Of established religion administered by schooled pastors there was little, apart from the

(14) Nichol 1951.

(15) Noorbergen 1972.

(16) In a previous work N. had discussed two of America's leading "psychics" Jeane Dixon and David N. Bubar.

(17) Noorbergen 1972, pp. 62, 69, 74, 92, 119, 121, 122, 125-130.

(18) McLellan 1903, p. 214.

few urban centers, of which Portland was one. From the viewpoint of respected religion, Maine at the turn of the century was looked upon as a forlorn province. For with the absence of orderly, organized religion, a blend of "free spirits" had taken over the religious services in some parts of what later became Maine. At Gorham, Come-Outers or New Lights, Free Baptists, Calvinist Baptists, Shakers and Quakers competed with free Methodists in the quest for souls (19).

At Gorham a sort of ultraism prevailed, partly caused by the reaction against "establishment" at the end of the 18th century. Though not at all a "burned-over district" like in up-state New York somewhat later (20), this part of New England was obviously revivalistic in character. Since the whole Harmon family, consisting of ten persons, were Methodists, till William Miller persuaded them to join his apocalyptic revival, it is useful to analyse some aspects in Methodism in Maine. We then find, that immediately prior to the American Revolution, the unorganized Methodists at Gorham disliked a paid, trained clergy and promoted the priesthood of all believers. The gift to preach or exhort was looked upon as a kind of charisma extended to the called one, whether it be a man or a woman. Another signum for the independent Methodists in Gorham was the manifestation of enthusiasm among the unschooled preachers (21).

Hugh D. McLellan gives a rather detailed description of the kind of enthusiasm that swept over Gorham after 1783. He remarks:

"Meetings were held day and night, mostly the latter, probably for the reason that they were sometimes disturbed by the unbelievers. None were admitted except by introduction of the initiated. The excitement kept on increasing; many would attend from curiosity, and the novelty of the thing, so different from what they had been used to in the staid, old concretion. Exhortations of the most exciting nature, singing, dancing and whirling, became a part of the services. All who did not join were vehemently denounced by name called anti-Christians, devils and the children of the devil. Some thought the vengeance of God would visit them, if they held communication with any of the wicked race." (22)

Components from the frontier revival meetings and early Methodist camp meeting enthusiasm belonged to this web of religion. For in the "class meetings", or non-public religious gatherings, both sexes had an equal right to take part in the religious manifestations (23). With the religious enthusiasm also went a rigorous attitude toward external things, to the "adiaphora" of dress and art. The mentality in the "free spirits" from

(19) Ibid, pp. 200-215.

(20) Whitney R. Cross 1965. (Originally publ. in 1950)

(21) McLellan 1903, pp. 200, 201.

(22) Ibid

(23) McLellan 1903, p. 201.

circa 1780 is a telling illustration:

"Ribbons, ruffles, jewelry and ornaments of all kinds were in their estimation special articles of temptation used by the devil to work evil, and ruin the soul of the wearer; and the opportunity was never neglected of ranting and railing at unfortunate sinner... females... would rise up, strip off ruffs, ribbons and jewelry trample them under foot, or go to the door and cast them to the devil, their owner, and in a loud voice tell Satan to take his temptations to himself, as he could not come it over them with the sinful baubles." (24)

Such extravagant scenes may have abated somewhat, when Ellen was a young girl, but she was, indeed, familiar with the noisy, happy Methodist praise and glory meetings.

In general, New England Methodism outside the more refined areas had more room for "special grace", or the "charismatic" phenomena than many other denominations such as the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists or the Episcopalians (25). It may, therefore, be useful to sum up certain characteristic traits in New England Methodism. In this milieu many thought 1. that an educated clergy was not needed; the gift of exhorting, testifying, praying, or preaching "was often more praised" (26). 2. The priesthood of all believers was stressed (27); 3. unlike many denominations Methodists permitted also females to exhort in their churches; 4. there was indeed a strong emphasis on holiness or Christian perfection, which some decades later led into the impressive holiness revival (28). This trend was also supported by many Christian leaders outside the Methodist Church, not least by the greatest holiness preacher of the period, Charles Grandison Finney (29); 5. the commonly used papers in the so called Sabbath schools (29a), reveal the predilection for sentimental tales with a moralistic objective, where the ideal Christian boy or girl is portrayed. As a Sunday school scholar Ellen certainly read such narratives (30); 6. Methodism

(24) *Ibm*, p. 204.

(25) Johnson 1955, ch. 5.

(26) Baker Jr. 1941, pp. 12-13.

(27) *Ibm*, p. 21.

(28) Baker Jr. 1941, p. 21. Peck 1860, pp. 307-333, 360. For the Holiness movement, cf. Jones 1968, Timothy L. Smith 1962, Peters 1956. An early devotional book in this movement is Merritt 1827.

(29) Timothy L. Smith 1957, ch. 7. Jones 1968, pp. 17, 21.

(29a) Not to be confused with the later S D A "Sabbath school."

(30) *The Youth's Friend and the Scholar's Magazine* 1827-1828. *The Teacher's Offering, or Sunday Scholar's Magazine*, 1825-1837.

in the first part of the last century was an aggressive movement, which boldly attacked sin and demonstrated a sectarian attitude, which was natural in a nation with no state church.

In the new Republic, and especially in revivalistic provinces, such as Maine, new religious groups with enthusiastic traits stood a fairly good chance of taking root. The nation itself was in a state of great expectation, aglow with millennial hopes. All kinds of sages, reformers, and visionaries were then at work, proclaiming their message to each one who cared to listen. More so before the Civil War, a ferment of optimistic reform sentiments pervaded the nation (31). New England also housed many backwoods prophets and visionaries, who hailed a new day in history. Of lasting importance were only the "Three Great" "charismatic" founders: Joseph Smith, Ellen G. White, and Mrs. Mary Baker - Eddy, each one of them was unique.

III. Childhood and Youth

Ellen Gould Harmon (1827-1915) was born as the seventh child into a very poor, but thrifty and God-fearing Methodist family. She had a twin sister, Elizabeth, but they were not identical twins (32). This situation might have caused rivalry. Ellen's father, Robert Harmon, was of a respected English family, whose lineage goes back to a bishop John Harmon in Sutton-Coldfields, Warwickshire in the fifteenth century (33). So far, there are no problems to trace the ancestry of EGW. The real difficulties as to the genealogy lies in another fall, however, because we do not know anything to speak of about the Gould family (34).

The Harmons believed in the "old time" religion with daily Bible readings and prayer at the family altar. Religion to the Harmons was also a personal experience; each one had the privilege of "tasting" that the Lord was good. It was, therefore, a duty to the Harmons, to witness about the Saviour among friends and neighbors (35).

(31) Timothy L. Smith 1957, chs. 1-4. Cf. *supra*, ch. I.

(32) Harmon Genealogy 1920, p. 3. White 1915, p. 17.

(33) *Ibm*

(34) It has been said that EGW may have had some negro blood in her veins from her mother. Cf. Number 1976, p. 89, the photo. This suggestion, however, is merely a hypothesis. Further genealogical research should test its correctness. If true, many members would be enthusiastic at the discovery, esp. in the Third World.

(35) White 1955, pp. 41 f.

A short time after Ellen's birth, Robert Harmon gave up farming in Gorham, Maine, and settled in Portland as a hatter. He made gentlemen's hard hats and employed the whole family in this occupation. When Ellen was a child she was entrusted the responsibility of making the crowns, the easiest part. What she earned in this way she sacrificed to her church (36).

At the early age of nine, Ellen was severely hit by an accident, which was to change her whole life. On her way from school, a school mate threw a stone at her head, which hit her so badly that she had to give up all plans of any future education. Evidently she suffered from a concussion in her brain and was bedridden for several weeks. Some of her relatives thought she would die in this illness (37). The medical experts may be able to comment on the consequences of this accident in reference to her future visionary career.

Whatever consequences the accident may have had on her, one thing is quite obvious, that the long periods of unwonted rest in bed gave Ellen time to reflect on spiritual themes.

We also know that the Harmons like many other Methodists believed that some bodily manifestations were needed as an evidence of holiness. Such unevangelical "tests" plagued young Ellen for some time. It was expected that the newly converted young people should testify about their religious experience in the prayer meetings or in the so called "social meetings." In her extended biography she writes:

"The same duty was again presented to me that had troubled my mind before, - to take up my cross among the assembled people of God. An opportunity was not long wanting; there was a prayer meeting that evening at my uncle's, which I attended. As others knelt for prayer, I bowed with them, trembling, and after a few had prayed my voice arose in prayer before I was aware of it... As I prayed, the burden of agony of soul that I had so long endured, left me, and the blessing of the Lord descended upon me... Everything seemed to be put out from me but Jesus and His glory, and I lost consciousness of what was passing around me. The Spirit of God rested upon me with such power that I was unable to go home that night. When I awakened to realization, I found myself cared for in the house of my uncle, where we had assembled for the prayer meeting." (38)

Prophecy, visions, and glossolalia were congenial phenomena in this type of religion. Even before this memorable conventicle Ellen had experienced her conversion crisis at a Methodist camp-meeting in Baxton, Maine (39).

(36) *Ibm*, pp. 47 f.

(37) White 1860, pp. 7-12. White 1915, pp. 17-19

(38) White 1915, pp. 37, 38. Italics not original.

(39) *Ibm* 1960, pp. 12 f.

She was certainly well prepared for this event after her tragic accident. For when forced to remain indoors, Ellen often meditated on religious themes and conversed with Jesus and the angels in an intimate way.

At the Buxton camp-meeting Ellen joined the crowd that responded to the altar call. Evidently that experience made a deep impression on her, for many years later, she could still recall the event. She declared:

"As I knelt and prayed, suddenly my burden left me, and my heart was light. At first a feeling of alarm came over me, and I tried to resume my load of distress. It seemed to me that I had no right to feel joyous and happy. But Jesus seemed very near to me; I felt that I could come to Him with all my griefs, misfortunes, and trials, even as the needy ones came to Him for relief when He was upon the earth." (40)

After her commitment to Jesus at the camp-meeting, some of her friends noticed the change in her life. Ellen continued:

"One of the mothers in Israel came to me and said, "Dear child, have you found Jesus?" I was about to answer, "Yes," when she exclaimed, "Indeed you have; his peace is with you, I see it in your face!" (41)

We notice, therefore, that Ellen entered into a personal faith relation to the Saviour from her early years, and that she had a conversion experience of the emotional type, which was common in the Methodist Church.

Shortly after her conversion the problem of baptism cropped up. Against the usual procedure Ellen insisted on becoming a member in the Methodist Church by the rite of baptism by immersion. Together with eleven other candidates she was baptized in the Atlantic by the conciliant Methodist minister (42). Although not a common rite among the Methodists, it was possible to receive members who had been baptized by immersion.

When the newly baptized candidates were presented for church membership, an episode took place, which reveals how much the young Ellen had preserved of the strict Puritan and Wesleyan anti-luxury attitude. A sister with ornaments was accepted for membership into the Methodist Church, which upset EGW very much. She commented in her oldest biographical sketch:

"The same day a sister and myself were taken into church. I felt happy, till I looked at the sister by my side, and saw golden rings on her fingers, and large gold ear-rings in her ears. Her bonnet was filled with artificial flowers, and was trimmed

(40) White 1915, pp. 23 f.

(41) *Ibm*, p. 24.

(42) White 1860, pp. 13 f.

with costly ribbon, which was filled with bows upon her bonnet. My heart felt sad. I expected every moment that a reproof would come from the minister; but none came. . . I remembered what the Bible said about adorning the body. . . For some time I was in deep trial. . . But I knew that I must be plain in my dress. I believed it to be wicked to think so much of appearance, to decorate our mortal bodies with flowers and gold." (43)

After her conversion Ellen Harmon lived in a pious secluded world in Methodist conventicles. Only occasionally did she make any attempts to get out of that environment. For a few weeks she did visit a "large female seminary" or Westbrook Seminary and Female College in Portland. However, she had to give up that attempt on several grounds: she was too weak in matters of health, and besides she complained about the worldly atmosphere in the school (44).

Instead of taking up taxing studies in the world, she therefore, soon commenced to investigate how a "good" Christian should live. Then she meditated a great deal on the Methodist doctrine of sanctification. We read in her biography:

"Among Methodists I had heard much in regard to sanctification, but had no definite idea in regard to it. . . I had seen personal lose their physical strength of strong mental excitement, and had heard this pronounced to be evidence of sanctification. . . I tried. . . but found it impossible to believe that I had received a blessing which, it seemed to me, should electrify my whole being." (45)

This intense religious exercise was increased still more by the common apocalyptic sentiments. Already in 1836, before Miller led any Campaigns in New England she caught sight of a piece of paper dealing with the imminent end of the world, she brought the message

home and read it to the family. "In contemplating the event predicted, I was seized with terror; the time seemed so short for the conversion and salvation of the world. Such a deep impression was made upon my mind by the little paragraph on the scrap of paper, that I could scarcely sleep for several nights, and prayed continually to be ready when Jesus came." (46)

This disturbance of her peace happened before her accident.

(43) *Ibm*, p. 14. Italics supplied.

(44) *Ibm*, White 1915, p. 26. Cf. Numbers 1976, p. 4.

(45) White 1915, p. 28. Emphasis added.

(46) *Ibm*, pp. 20 f. Italics supplied.

With this predominant interest in the last events, it goes without saying, that the Harmons were likely to take a special interest in William Miller's lectures. "Father" Miller, as EGW often called him, visited Portland in 1840 and 1842. The sickly girl did not attend many of Miller's meetings in 1842; nevertheless Miller left indelible marks on her mind. In her home the lectures were intensively discussed (47). About that time Ellen had opened her heart to a former Methodist pastor in Portland, Levi F. Stockman, who had been converted to Miller's ideas. Stockman assured Ellen of her spiritual experience and predicted that Jesus was certainly preparing her for "some special work" (48). Even as an inexperienced teenager Ellen was, indeed, self-conscious about her future work.

By joining the groups that gathered around William Miller, the Harmons gradually became strangers to the services in the Methodist church. It so happened, quite logically, that the whole Harmon family were excommunicated from the Pine Street Methodist church in 1843 (49). The official motivation for the dismissal being that the Harmons had not been loyal to the Methodist church and had neglected the divine services. Another more vital ground referred to the Harmons' keen interest in Miller's apocalyptic revival. The Methodists certainly did not resent a general belief in the advent near, however, provided no definite time was set for the event.

The Harmons' expulsion from the Methodist fraternity does not seem to have made any real difference to young Ellen Harmon. After all she and the Harmons had made new Christian friends among the Millerites, and the idea of the immediate Parousia in 1843-1844 made them forget many earthly troubles. Only one thing was vital then: to be ready to meet Jesus in peace. However, with her radical Methodist view of the subjective side of religion, including *adiaphora* and the whole concept of sanctification, religion demanded a great deal from the worshippers and one could never be absolutely sure of salvation (50).

Miller caused quite a stir among the Methodists in Portland. One of the ministers in this region, the Rev. G. F. Cox, "had industriously inculcated" Miller's ideas among members and his fellow ministers of the Methodist persuasion in Portland. This Cox continued to disseminate his Adventist views after he had been called to work in Orrington, where James White lived (51).

(47) White 1860, p. 15. White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847. WEA. Wash. D.C. EGW's assertion in White 1915, p. 27, that she "frequently attended the (Miller) meetings" is directly denied in the letter to B.

(48) White 1915, p. 36. The statement reads: "Ellen, you are only a child. Yours is a most singular experience for one of your tender age. Jesus must be preparing you for some special work." This statement is not included in the earliest biographical sketch.

(49) White 1860, pp. 28-30.

(50) White 1915, pp. 56-63.

(51) Allen-Pilsbury 1887, pp. 121, 122.

In 1843-1844 Ellen was critically weak and emaciated (52). This unfortunate situation was at least partly due to her severe accident at nine, and perhaps also to her staying close to the place where her father prepared skins for the top hats with the use of mercury (53). She informs us about her condition in a realistic way:

"My heart was so weak that I was obliged to sit propped up in bed to do this work; (with the hats) but day after day I sat there, happy that my trembling fingers could do something to bring in a little pittance for the cause I loved so dearly." (54)

Or another statement:

"My health failed rapidly. I could only talk in a whisper, or broken tone of voice. One physician said my disease was dropsical consumption; that my right lung was gone, and my left affected. He thought I could not live long. --- It was very difficult for me to breathe lying down, and nights was bolstered almost in a sitting posture, and would often awake with my mouth full of blood." (55)

Before her debut as a visionary, she had a kind of dream visions (56). In those scenes her "guiding angel", or an interpretus, led her into the presence of the Saviour. She describes the scene quite vividly:

"He led me to a steep, and it looked like a frail stair way. As I commenced to ascend the stairs, he gave me a word of caution, to keep my eyes fixed upwards, for if I looked down I should become dizzy and fall. ... I succeeded in climbing to the top. Then my guide bid me lay everything at the door. Cheerfully I laid down all I possessed. He then opened the door and told me to go in." (57)

Here we find things that are common in visionaries. The guiding angel, or the interpretus, is presented as well as the typical upward motion. Then follows the central part of the narrative: the meeting with Jesus. Ellen continues:

"As I entered I saw Jesus, so lovely and beautiful. His countenance expressed benevolence and majesty. I tried to shield myself from his piercing gaze. I thought he knew my heart, and every circum-

stance of my life. I tried not to look upon his face, but still his eyes were upon me. ... He then, with a smile, drew near me, and laid his hand upon my head, saying, "Fear not." The sound of his sweet voice, caused me to feel a thrill of happiness I had never before experienced. I was too full of joy to utter a word. I grew weak, and fell prostrate at his feet. And while lying helpless scenes of glory and beauty passed before me. I thought I was saved in heaven. At length my strength returned. I arose upon my feet. The loving eyes of Jesus were fixed upon me still, and he smiled upon me. His presence filled me with such holy awe that I could not endure it. My guide opened the door and I passed out." (58).

In these early dreams we notice several of the phenomena that were to characterize her later vision. We observe 1. the loss of physical strength; 2. the presence of the Saviour; and 3. the enraptured ecstasy in Ellen's soul during her communion with the Bridegroom.

IV. EGW - A Protestant Mystic

When the Church historian or the psychologist endeavours to account for the phenomena of mysticism in religion, they are immediately confronted with a difficult subject. The very term "mysticism" suggests something "beyond" the concrete realities. To many people in this rational and scientific age mysticism and superstition, and even a pathological state of mind go together. However, Mysticism is derived from the Greek word *mystikós* and goes back to two verbs; the first one means to close one's eyes from visual perceptions or to shut one's mouth, viz. in order not to reveal secrets pertaining to the religious mysteries; the second verb carries the meaning to initiate somebody in the esoteric world of the mysteries. In the Greek NT the form *mystikós* is not found, but the noun *mystáerion* (secret) is listed about 30 times (1).

Mysticism is found in most religions. It is represented among the Buddhists and the Muslims, in Shamanism and so forth. Within the Christian religion mysticism has flourished in the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in the Middle Ages. St. Francis of Assisi has been characterized as a mystic. Teresa of Avila and St. Brigitte of Sweden are two others, to mention only a few of the better known representatives. And mysticism did not begin with the saints in the Middle Ages; it has followed the Church from its very beginning. The apostle Paul and the author of the fourth Gospel were great mystics. And the enthusiasm on the day of Pentecost demonstrated an undeniable dimension of mysticism.

(58) *Ibm*, p. 19. Emphasis not original.

(1) Cf. Edsmann 1968, pp. 12, 13.

(52) White 1860, pp. 29, 30

(53) It is, indeed, uncertain to what extent those vapors can have harmed EGW's nerves. Cf. Numbers 1976, p. 5, but cf. Francis 1860, *passim*.

(54) White 1915, p. 47.

(55) White 1860, p. 30. Italics supplied.

(56) *Ibm*, pp. 16-20.

(57) *Ibm*, pp. 18, 19. This dream is also of interest to psychologists.

There are many forms of mysticism. Some experts limit the use of the term to extraordinary manifestations like auditions or visions with trances or somnambulant phenomena. Others tend to characterize everything pertaining to the inner life of contemplation as mysticism even, an emotional conversion experience or communion with the Highest Being in prayer. This broad application of the term has caused some scholars to reject the term altogether (2). But in consideration of the common use of the term mysticism, it is difficult to be that drastic. Insofar as the term is correctly defined in each separate case, the somewhat ambiguous designation can certainly be employed. In this specific study we have to limit our examination mainly to the areas that are relevant for the ministry of the American mystics and visionaries. For the sake of comparison, however, we intend to give a short presentation of the visionary manifestations.

Walter Houston Clark defines mysticism *inter alia* as "the subjective experience of a person who has what he tells others is a direct apprehension of some cosmic Power of Force greater than himself" (3).

William James, one of the greatest scientists of all times in the field of religious psychology, enumerates four major characteristics in mysticism (4). He mentions: 1. ineffability, or the difficulty a mystic has to communicate his experiences to others; 2. a noetic quality, meaning the feeling a mystic has of having access to superior knowledge through his direct contact with the Absolute; 3. the transiency of the experience, or the uneven intensity or durability of the state of mysticism. But one solitary vision may be sufficient to exert a lifelong influence on the mystic; 4. the passivity, or the "fact that the subject in the mystical experience feels himself in the grip of a Power other than himself" (5).

Catholic mystics are generally aware of different stages in their ascendancy to the highest form of the mystical experience: to behold God in a blessed *Unio Mystica* experience. In order to make progress as mystics they have to discipline their minds. Ignatius of Loyola's manual, *Excercitia Spiritualia*, is a telling example of this discipline. But long before Ignatius, St. Augustine divided the auditions and visions into three different kinds. He talked of 1. *visiones corporales*, 2. *imaginativae*, and 3. *intellectuales* (6). Augustine's concept has been explained for example by the Swedish historian of religions and religious psychology, Carl-Martin Edsman. The commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself can be taken in three different ways: we can imagine that we almost see our neighbour before us, and finally, we can behold the concept of love intuitively with our intellect (7).

- (2) Dr. Hjalmar Sundén, Prof. of Rel. Psych. at Uppsala Univ. prefers the more exact term "visionary" to the vague designation a "mystic".
- (3) Clark 1958, pp. 262, 263.
- (4) Clark 1958, p. 267.
- (5) Cf. Sundén 1971, p. 24.
- (6) Edsman 1968, p. 23.
- (7) The original has "personlighetsmystik och oändlighetsmystik."

Another evident quality in a mystic is his unconditional religious introversion. For the genuine mystic God is impersonal and immanent, deprived of all positive attributes. Tor Andrae, a disciple of the well-known Swedish historian of religions, Nathan Söderblom, speaks of two kinds of mystics: personality mysticism and "Unendlichkeitsmystik" or unlimited mysticism (8). The mystical experiences of Nature in some of the Romantic poets, like William Wordsworth, is also a kind of mysticism (9). Spranger operates with another pair, when he defines the areas of mysticism. He distinguishes between the Immanent Mystic and the Transcendental Mystic (10).

Clark has made a helpful suggestion, when he observes that in many mystics there is a rhythmic change between contemplation away from the world and an active striving in it. Teresa, Francis of Assisi, and George Fox are named as typical examples of this (11). Clark has characterized the manifestations of the mystics under three headings. Quite correctly he points out that 1. the "language of mysticism makes extensive use of figures of speech and paradox. . . the favourite metaphor of the mystics" being that of love and marriage; 2. "the mystics regard that which "ordinary man considers the Real as the Unreal, and what the ordinary person considers the Unreal as the Real;" 3. the Mystic has a tendency toward extravagance in behavior (12).

When it comes to the controversial side of attempting to account for the roots of mysticism, the scientist has to restrict himself to what he can observe of the phenomena. To investigate what the mystic himself considers to be the only causative agency: a cosmic Power or God Himself, lies outside the boundaries of science. Clark lists five points:

1. The temperament of the mystic is an important prerequisite. Clark found many sick souls among the saints. Such people are more sensitive to stimuli. He also observed that the different value system the mystic has is likely to bring him in conflict with his family and the "world."
2. Another vital point is the "tradition in which the mystic grows up as well as the temper of the times." Clark motivated this assertion on the ground that some religious traditions have produced more mystics than others.

- (8) Wordsworth, Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.
- (9) Clark 1958, p. 285.
- (10) *Ibm.* Cf. Edsman 1968, pp. 10, 11.
- (11) Clark 1958, pp. 272-274.
- (12) St. Brigitte of Sweden became a visionary or a mystic after the death of her influential husband. Then she began to loathe her previous sexual relations with her husband. Sundén 1973, pp. 79, 80, 84. Cf. Stolpe 1973, pp. 86 ff.

3. The psychologist approaches controversial ground, indeed, when he ascribes some forms of mysticism to self-hypnosis and psychosomatic suggestion. This theory should nevertheless be tested, when there is a need.

4. In some cases problems with sex in the life of the mystics should be noticed (13). The profuse use of amorous or sexual metaphors sometimes reveals an unsatisfied "sex urge."

5. Referring to Freud, Clark writes, that "the childish desire for security and escape" can be found in a mystic (14). This writer would like to add another item. The feeling of importance or prestige that the mystic or prophet experiences when the group he serves accepts his messages or admires him, makes a man or a woman who was a forgotten nobody into a somebody. Ascending on the scala mystica, a Joseph Smith or an Ellen Harmon became some of the brilliant lights of the New World's religious leaders. In fact, the whole life of a mystic centers around his mystical experience or his mission to the group he serves.

6. A definite line of demarcation must be drawn between the Catholic mystics and the messengers of Ante-Bellum America. The whole Catholic tradition is of course wanting in a mystic like EGW. She should, therefore, be studied against the Methodist background with its enthusiastic phenomena.

7. Closely connected with the experiences of the mystic are those of the prophet. Both types claim to have access to the Highest Power in the Universe. The main difference between the two categories is, that the prophet is much less introvert and stands in an active relation to the world, often as a leader of some new denomination or sect. In the United States during the 19th century there were many backwoods "prophets", as we have already observed, and also a few more impressive prophets, whose creative genius and mystical experience helped found churches. The combination prophet - ecclesiastical organisation is evident in the Mormons, the SDA Church, and in some other religious groups, if the term "prophet" is enlarged. The Mormons expected to create that Kingdom for the saints on earth by cultivating the unbroken soil in the desert. The Christian Scientists saw unlimited possibilities of improving the present world order by manipulating "Science" or by using some sort of Mesmerism.

The literalist "Bible Christians" in the small Adventist groups despaired of being able to transform a sinful world into a Paradise.

The career of the prophet generally begins with "some kind of mystical experience (15). The Greek word for prophet *prophía* *emi* can mean both "speak forth" and "foretell." The common idea of a prophet is mainly limited to the latter concept.

According to Clark the prophetic consciousness can be summed up in five salient points: 1. the immediate experience of God; 2. a sense of

(13) Clark 1958, pp. 279-283.

(14) *Ibm*, p. 293.

(15) *Ibm*, pp. 292, 293.

mission as the mouthpiece of God; 3. a concern for rightness of living; 4. a reliance on invitation; and 5. a highly individualized interpretation and expression of religious truth.

When confusion among the Millerites had reached its height after the October Failure, the young and unknown Ellen Gould Harmon claimed to have received true visions from Heaven to explain the whole mystery with the delayed Parousia (16). During her long life EGW is said to have experienced several hundreds of visions, lasting from a few minutes to several hours (17). Only in exceptional cases did the visions last more than two hours (18).

In her early years the visions were followed by such spectacular phenomena as somnambulism, with no noticable breath and other manifestations. In her later years, however, these characteristic vanished and EGW claimed to have received "prophetic dreams" in the night season instead (19). Exactly when this change took place is difficult to say. The switch to the so called "prophetic dreams" is a controversial detail in the biography of EGW. The well-known Chicago psychiatrist, William S. Sadler, who knew EGW intimately, saw a connection between the meno-pause and the end of the "public visions" (20). The same intimation was emphatically denied by Francis D. Nichol, however (21).

Some of the contemporaries were eyewitnesses to several of EGW's visions. The pioneer worker in the Adventist Church (22), Pastor J. N. Loughborough, writes that he had watched EGW in her visionary state about fifty times (23). He gave the following description:

"In passing into vision she gives three enraptured shouts of 'Glory!' The second and especially the third, fainter, but more thrilling than the first, the voice resembling that of one quite a distance from you, and just going out of hearing. For about four or five seconds she seems to drop down like a person in a swoon or one having lost his strength." (24)

(16) Cf. *supra*, pp.

(17) James White 1868, p. 272. RH, Jun. 9, 1874, quoted in SDAE 1966, p. 1380. On one occasion EGW is reported to have had a vision that lasted for four hours. White 1860, p. 77.

(18) The most famous episode is her holding of an 18 pound Teale Bible for half an hour. White 1860, pp. 77-79. Loughborough 1892, p. 107.

(19) SDAE 1966, pp. 1380, 1381. St. Brigitte had a low estimate of "prophetic dreams." Cf. Stolpe 1973, pp. 138, 139.

(20) Sadler Interview, Sep. 9, 1967. Cf. Sadler 1953.

(21) Nichol 1951, p. 71. 1884 has been suggested as the time for the last "public vision." SDAE 1966, p. 1380.

(22) "Adventist Church" in this study always means the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

(23) Loughborough 1892, p. 93.

(24) *Ibm*, p. 94.

The narrative gives a good picture of the irresistible force behind the phenomenon at the beginning of the visionary state. The second phase was different. Loughborough reported:

"She then seems to be instantly filled with superhuman strength, sometimes rising at once to her feet and walking about the room. There are frequent movements of the hands and arms, pointing to the right or left as head turns. All these movements are made in a most graceful manner. In whatever position the hand or arm may be placed, it is impossible for any one to move it. Her eyes are always open, but she does not wink; her head is raised, and she is looking upward, not with a vacant stare, but with a pleasant expression, only differing from the normal in that she appears to be looking intently at some distant object. She does not breathe, but her pulse beats regularly." (25)

In these phenomena Loughborough and Adventist leaders saw striking similarities with some Old Testament prophets, such as Daniel (26).

We observe some significant characteristics in the EGW "public visions."

1. The visions began with a kind of trance when she fell lifeless to the floor;
2. after a few seconds she regained strength in a remarkable way;
3. then followed a kind of trance walking with her limbs stiff as in a cataleptic state (27);
4. in vision EGW would sometimes talk in a loud voice or else utter a few words (28);
5. the visions invigorated EGW and gave her new vitality, an experience also observed by other mystics;
6. many Adventist chronicles have expressed great astonishment as to the abated breath, while EGW was experiencing a vision. This phenomenon, however, is not uncommon in mystics (29). Generally speaking, the phenomena of a mystic while in vision are interesting to observe, but they do not prove anything *per se* about the validity of the message a mystic or prophet delivers. What matters is instead the contents of the messages. Here, too, the saying of Jesus applies, "Ye shall know them by their fruits."

James White, of course, was very familiar with the visionary activity of his wife. He has also given a narrative of his impressions. Only in some details did his report differ from that of Loughborough. White emphasized that "her muscles become rigid, and joints fixed", immediately upon entering into the vision-

(25) Ibm, pp. 93, 94. Italics supplied.

(26) Ibm, pp. 94, 95.

(27) White 1860, pp. 78, 79.

(28) Ibm, pp. 77.

(29) Cf. Benz 1969, pp. 239-255.

ary state. He also pointed out that her eyesight needed some time to accommodate itself back to its normal state. He remarked:

"On coming out of vision, whether in the day-time or a well-lighted room at night, all is total darkness. Her power to distinguish even the most brilliant objects, held within a few inches of the eyes, returns but gradually, sometimes not being fully established for three hours." (30)

From the very first, the visions of EGW were understood differently by critics inside and outside the "Little Flock."

1. In the 40's and 50's particularly, it was not unusual to hear "Open Door" Millerites or other critics interpret the visions as a result of mesmerism, the pre-psychological fad in the USA before the Civil War (31). Such critics advanced an idea still applied by some to explain the state of some mystics, viz. that EGW was under the spell of some psychological power, such as auto-suggestion. This concept irritated EGW a great deal, until she was relieved from it by some specific visions (32).

2. Another early critic assured James White that he could not accept the visions on the basis that her own thinking was reflected in the early visions. He wrote:

"I think that what she and you regard as visions from the Lord, are only religious reveries, in which her imagination runs without control upon themes in which she is most interested. While so absorbed in these reveries, she is lost to everything around her. ... the sentiments, in the brain, are obtained from previous teaching, or study. I do not by any means think her visions are like some from the devil." (33)

James White tried to counteract this rational reasoning by referring to the fact, that EGW was also a shut door believer; but not because of outside stimuli. On the contrary her shut door views were based on visions contrary to her previous ideas.

3. The Adventist pioneer and Sabbath apostle, the former sea captain Joseph Bates, for a time doubted the correctness of the visions and ascribed them to some psycho-physical factors. EGW's visions could be accounted for as a consequence of EGW's debilitated physical condition (34), he believed. But somewhat later EGW's ideas of astronomy, Shut Door, and the Sabbath convinced him of EGW's divine calling.

(30) James White 1868, p. 272

(31) White 1860, pp. 57, 58. Cf. Branch 1934, pp. 362-368 et passim.

(32) White 1860, pp. 57-60. Since Mesmer's theories were very popular in the 1840's in New England, many critics suggested that EGW had been mesmerized. Cf. Dods 1843, pp. 8-13 (note 32) Hale Jr. 1971. Davies 1971, pp. 140-145. (note 32) EGW believed in the "sciences of mesmerism and phrenology." White 1885, pp. 290-292.

(33) WLF 1847, p. 22.

(34) Ibm, p. 21.

Even today psychologists and psychiatrists are divided in their view of the mystics. *Hysteria* has often been mentioned as a root of visions. This term, too, is anything but lucid. The Swedish medical and theological doctor, J. Björkhem, in the 1940s made an attempt to reinterpret the term. He grouped people into several classes of hysteria. To the groups classified as C- and D hystericae, Björkhem referred mystics such as St. Brigitte, Theresa of Avila, Antoniette Bourignon, and Mrs. Eddy Baker (35). These people were

"strikingly cyclotyme types with strong affections and a noisy, extravagant behavior; they are characterized by very rapid and efficient reactions. Sometimes they are extremely egoistic and very fond of protesting to prevailing views (oppositionslystna), powerful personalities, people of action and rich in initiative. Their craving to dominate people knows hardly any boundaries. They make enemies or attract people. Not seldom there is something attractive and fascinating about these types that is blended with other repulsive traits in their beings. Their imagination is extremely lively and colourful." (36)

Since his theories and observations present some new aspects to the unsolved problem of the mystical experience, we want to continue the narrative with his view of the hysterical types belonging to the groups A and B. In our opinion these characteristics could as well be found in mystics, as those attributes to the classes C and D.

In his first academic dissertation John Björkhem wrote a critical analysis of the visionary activities of Antoniette Bourignon (37). A leading theme in this work was to account for the importance of the hysterical self-disposition in the history of "enthusiastic religion." Antoniette Bourignon was reared in a Catholic milieu, but worked among Calvinists and Lutherans. Like EGW she was confronted by religious ideas in an intensive form from the very beginning of her life. Already as a child she heard the voice of God within herself, she claimed. Her highest wish was to follow Jesus Christ. She differed from other children by the emphasis she allotted to things pertaining to religion. Like EGW she experienced a radical conversion (38). Although there were some similarities between EGW and the 17th century Antoniette Bourignon it would be wrong, however, to conclude that the experiences of the two women were almost identical.

Antoniette Bourignon has been severely criticized by German and English critics. And there were, according to Björkhem, many unsympathetic traits in her life. But here she "stands on the same level as many religious reformers

and geni" (39). Björkhem also analysed the physical disposition of mystics like Antoniette Bourignon. He contended:

"their psychic structure definitely repels some people, but binds others to themselves and cause a fanatical faith and devotion. ... Not seldom they are founders of exclusive sects with apocalyptic and eschatological type. Ecstasy, miracles and charismatic ability thrive in such circles together with a merciless individualism and despotism. There is no coincidence that such sects, in which type of religion they may exist, show related features. They get their characteristics thanks to certain psychological dispositions in their founders, viz. the hysterical self-disposition." (40)

More recent researchers, however, reject the theory that hysteria causes visions.

Ernst Arbmán of Sweden enumerates various crises as causative factors of visions. States of inner unrest, "tension, conflict, struggle and anguish, clamouring for a solution and typical for the prophetic election," are such stimuli. When these problems have reached "their maximum of intensity" they may find release in "hallucinatory experiences" (42).

Even experts who appreciate the visionary phenomena are using the old designation *hallucination* (43) to characterize the psychological aspects in a visionary. But recently a German writer objected to this term and pointed out that the designation suggests unavoidable *medico-pathological* connotations that seldom answer to the state of mind in the mystic (44). To people with a positivistic "Weltanschauung", the transcendental world must appear imaginary or even chimerical. The new understanding of some religious phenomena, known from the days of the Early Church, and the current so called Charismatic Movement, nowadays appreciated by many people in both Catholics and Protestant connections, may lead to a better understanding of the mystical experiences. The Swedish psychologist, Hjalmar Sundén, has aptly expressed the limitations and the aims of the Christian psychologists. He says:

"The efforts to explain the power play which results from reducing the assurance of being elected do not at all aim at undercutting or reducing the religious experience to something entirely human or even grossly human. For those who recognize the reality of Grace, these methods aim at determining how Grace uses Nature's mechanisms." (45)

(35) Björkhem 1942, p. 51.

(36) *Ibm*

(37) Björkhem 1940, pp. 26-41.

(38) *Ibm*, pp. 43-50.

(39) *Ibm*, p. 348.

(40) *Ibm*, p. 349. *Italics added.*

(41) Sundén 1960, pp. 49-52.

(42) Arbmán 1963, p. 15.

(43) Sundén 1973, pp. 55-58. But S. does not claim that visionaries on account of the visions are mentally ill.

(44) Benz 1969, pp. 85, 86. NCE 1957, Vol. XIV, p. 717.

(45) Sundén 1973, p. 52.

In the case of EGW we have some important facts to observe. As a child she had an accident in her head; that changed her whole career and increased the religious activities in her life. She was brought up in a Methodist home of the Old Time revival type of religion. Some observers have moreover noticed a slight tendency to manic-depression in her disposition (46). It is evident, however, that this debility was only a tendency and not a pathological case or a psychosis. The best proof of the healthy mind in EGW is her impressive amount of even, continuous work, produced by her through almost seven decades.

V. The Calling Visions

From a typological point of view it is useful to notice how two of America's significant 19th century laymen leaders, Joseph Smith and Protestant EGW both arose to eminence as prophets in the same epoch (1). The religious milieu of the two leaders was, of course, rather different. EGW had her roots in evangelical Methodism, whereas Smith was confused as to the "true church." Joseph Smith and the Mormons caught a vision of the immense possibilities America's vast plains contained for the building of the new society in the desert, whereas EGW and the Adventists initially were radical apocalypticists. Thus the two new religions parted ways and concentrated on different ferments in the religious environment of the nation. In time, both churches have reached a world wide outreach, with approximately the same membership. Both groups make a confession to the same Eternal Evangel in Revelation 14, and both maintain that they are the restorers of the true Church of Jesus Christ in the last days. But there are also great theological differences between the two aggressive churches. Adventists have gradually placed a greater emphasis on the "eternal verities" of fundamental soteriological beliefs and thus come into the wide spectrum of Protestant groups, whereas the Mormons seem to have remained consistently true to their new revelation (2). These most fascinating aspects can only be mentioned in passing here (3).

- (46) Sadler Interview, Sep. 9, 1967. EGW Diaries 1885-1887.
 (1) The Book of Mormon, ed. 1963, introduction. O'Dea 1957.
 (2) The SDA Church is not yet generally recognized as a Christian Evangelical Church. Hoekema and other Evangelicals deny that status to Adventists. Cf. Hoekema 1963. However Dr. H's classification of the SDA Church as a cult has been questioned by another Evangelical, Dr. Martin. Cf. Martin 1965, pp. 359-422.
 (3) The change towards the Evangelicals was embodied in the epochal book, *Questions on Doctrine*, which appeared in 1957. (Hereafter referred to as QD 1957.)

It is rewarding to study EGW's status immediately before her first vision in December 1844. At that time she was vexed by many puzzling problems and was very confused over the October time fiasco. In other words she lived in typical stress condition.

A few weeks after the Disappointment many Millerites had given up their confidence in time-setting. Before her first vision, and much later, Ellen Harmon lived isolated from the world and Miller's moderate adventists. Immediately prior to her first vision her mind was much occupied with the "mystery" of the delayed Parousia. Gradually her mind was being reconstructed by the assimilation of sentiments that were afloat in Miller's left wing groups. A fuller analysis of the contents of EGW's first vision will be given in another section (4); only a few important concepts will therefore be reviewed here.

In the December vision, which for several months was made known only by word of mouth, EGW witnessed the glorious fate of the shattered Millerite movement (4a). She then sided with the radicals who saw the condition of ultimate salvation depending on their relation to Snow's October time movement. Living on the very threshold of heaven, as it were, EGW had no need in this initial view to explain why God had delayed his advent. At the end of the first vision, or more likely the end of the first series of visions, young Ellen Harmon was explicitly assured of both ultimate salvation for her own part and of Heaven's acceptance as a special messenger to the Remnant. Jesus instructed:

"I asked Jesus to let me eat of the fruit. He said, not now. Those who eat of the fruit of this land, go back to earth no more. But in a little while if faithful, you shall both eat of the fruit of the tree of life, and drink of the water of the fountain, and he said you must go back to the earth again, and relate to others what I have revealed to you." (5)

The vision liberated EGW from her despondency, and in a short time it changed her whole life. Now she had a message to convey to the "Little Flock." Jesus had personally authorized her to relate her experiences to "others." But still these were many obstacles in her way. After all she was but a poor teen-age girl with limited influence. Some fifteen years later EGW could still recall the problems. We read in her oldest biographical sketch:

"My health was poor, and I was only seventeen years old. I knew that many had fallen through exaltation, and if I in any way became exalted, the Lord would leave me, and I should surely be lost. I earnestly prayed that the burden might be laid on some other one.

- (4) Cf. *infra*, pp.
 (4a) DS, Jan. 24, 1846.
 (5) *Ibm.* Italics added.

But all the light I could get was, "Make known to others what I have revealed to you." I was unreconciled to go out into the world. I had naturally but little confidence. ... The idea of a female traveling from place to place caused me to draw back. I looked with desire into the grave. Death appeared to me preferable to the responsibilities I should have to bear." (6)

The substance of the narrative is undoubtedly true. In order to strengthen her position as a "messenger" to the faithful, EGW received some further confirming visions about her calling. We read:

"The church all united in earnest prayer for me, and once more I consecrated myself to the Lord, and felt willing to be used to his glory. While praying, the thick darkness that had enveloped me was scattered, a bright light, like a ball of fire, came towards me, and as it fell upon me, my strength was taken away. I seemed to be in the presence of Jesus and of angels. Again it was repeated, "Make known to others what I have revealed to you". I earnestly prayed that if I must go and relate what the Lord had shown me, that I might be kept from exaltation. Then an angel told me that my prayer was answered, and that if I should be in danger of exaltation, I should be afflicted with sickness. Said the angel, "If ye deliver the message faithfully, and endure to the end ye shall eat of the tree of life, and drink of the river of the water of life." (7)

Evidently EGW herself could not have witnessed all those details, because in her revised and enlarged autobiography she also stated that other people had observed the manifestations. A rheumatic brother, Father Pearson, who was unable to kneel down in prayer noticed how photisms (7a) struck the young visionary. EGW explained:

"A ball of fire came down from heaven, and struck Sister Ellen Harmon right on the heart. I saw it! I saw it! I can never forget it. It has changed my whole being. Sister Ellen, have courage in the Lord. After this night I will never doubt again. We will help you henceforth, and not discourage you." (8)

The two texts from the early and the late narrative offer some textual problems. The reader also notices how the writer seems to have harmonized the two renderings of the event in the late source; for EGW's account, and that of "Father Pearson" agree exactly in the 1915 text. The apologetic tendency in the narratives cannot be overlooked. We do not know anything as to the position of "Father Pearson." No exact time is given for the confirmatory vision with the sensational phenomena of the "ball of fire." Judging

from the context, however, this event must have taken place before "the spring of 1845" (9). If this is correct, the scene ought to have taken place after EGW's vision to Exeter, Maine, in February 1845, when she, by means of her visions, strengthened the important shut door notion. At that time she often wavered between hope and despondency, in reference to her new calling, as she herself told Joseph Bates in 1847 (10).

In this crisis, however, she could relieve herself from the negative effects by comparing her case with that of the priest Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. For a day or so, she was "struck dumb" and could not speak, she stated (11). In this remarkable way EGW was freed from doubting the genuineness of her visions, and she was also invigorated in body and mind. A psychologist like Leon Festinger might very well talk about a reduction of dissonance in the experience of EGW. Ellen's recourse to the biblical pattern could likewise have served as an illustration of Richard S. Lazarus's theory of the coping process (12).

In the last view in the series of confirmatory calling visions, EGW was reprimanded for her tendency to soften the messages of reproof she received for certain individuals. For this reason Jesus frowned at her and turned his face from her. This lesson made a lasting impression on her. She commented:

Presently an angel bid me rise, and the sight that met my eyes can hardly be described. A company was presented before me whose hair and garments were torn, and whose countenances were the very picture of despair and horror. They came close to me, and took their garments and robbed them on mine. I looked at my garments and saw that they were stained with blood. ... the angel stood me up on my feet (sic), and said, "This is not your case now, but this scene has passed before you to let you know what your situation must be, if you neglect to declare to others what the Lord has revealed to you." (13)

No student of EGW can deny that she delivered many "plain rebukes" to leaders and laymen in her "testimonies." One should notice how strongly she was motivated or forced to act by the feeling of inner compulsion. It was always duty for her to act.

EGW was also to experience the meaning of the old saying that "a prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house." Most members in the Harmon family belonged to other churches. Mrs. Harmon may eventually have joined the S D A Church, but not her father; in fact her two eldest sisters, Caroline and Harriet, married non-Adventist clergymen (14).

(6) White 1860, p. 36. Italics added.

(7) *Ibm*, p. 37. Emphasis added.

(7a) Cf. Benz 1969, p. 102. Edsman 1968, p. 28.

(8) White 1915, p. 71. Emphasis added.

(9) White 1860, pp. 36, 37.

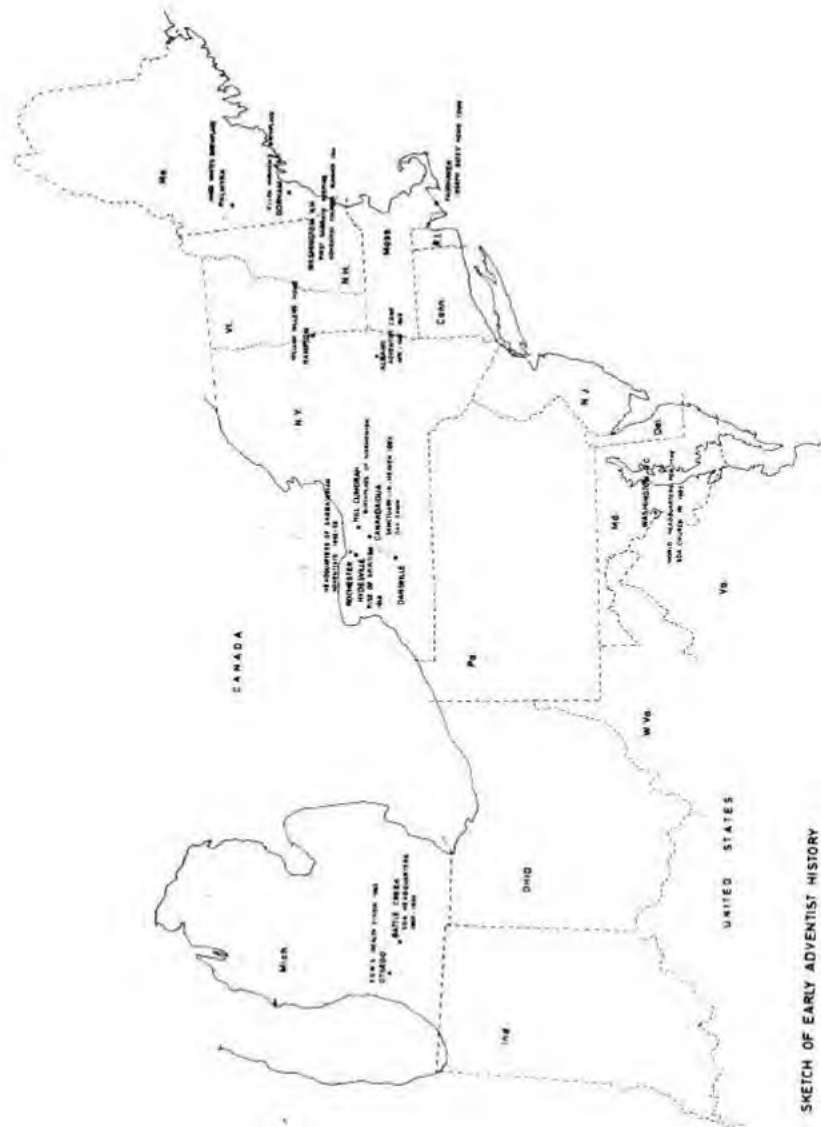
(10) White to Bates, Jul. 13, 1847. WEA. Wash. D. C.

(11) White 1960, pp. 57-59.

(12) Lazarus 1966. Cf. Källstad 1974, pp. 36, 37.

(13) White 1860, p. 61. Cf. Ez. 3:18-21.

(14) Harmon Genealogy 1920, p. 41. Caroline Gould was married to the Rev. Mace R. Clough in Portland.



SKETCH OF EARLY ADVENTIST HISTORY

EGW began her mission as a "messenger" first among some friends at Portland and then she traveled to friends and relatives in various places in Maine and New Hampshire, which to her was "Jerusalem" (15) Thus she shared the spiritual fellowship with Millerites at Poland and Exeter, Maine. Unpleasant experiences from her unmarried years may to a large extent explain why she was married to James White of Palmyra, Maine, so early in the midst of the shut door period (16). It is, therefore, somewhat puzzling to read how James White a short time earlier had reproved former Millerites, who had married after the Disappointment (17).

VI. Young EGW-Prophetess of Doom

It is a very common component in apocalyptic-prophetic movements that many representatives in those groups often expressed their views in an exaggerated or drastic way (18). Young EGW was no exception to this general observation. Having experienced all the vicissitudes and shocks in the Millerite movement, it was only natural for her to continue in this intensive expectation. Her first vision reminded the adherents that Miller's calculations were not a failure, because God himself would soon declare the exact "day and hour" of the second coming. Later on, in the spring of 1848, EGW saw in vision how the "restrant (sic) is being taken of (sic) from the wicked and very soon when Jesus steps out from between Father and man it will be entirely gone" (19).

In 1849 she outlined the sequence of the "closing events" under three main headings: 1. the "anger of the nations" or "the shaking of the angry nations;" 2. "the wrath of God;" and 3. "the time to judge the dead" or the "standing up" of Michael (20).

In a broadside flyer EGW told the readers that "the powers of earth are now being shaken" (21). Evidently she referred to the upheavals in

- (15) White 1860, p. 35-39.
- (16) White 1915, p. 97.
- (17) James White letter to the Day-Star of Sep. 27, 1845, publ. in DS, Oct. 11, 1845, p. 51.
- (18) Cf. for example Bainton 1963, p. 105; Johansson 1918. Ibid. 1920; Claeson 1951, Ibid. 1953.
- (19) White to Brother and Sister Hastings, May 29, 1848. WEA. Wash. D.C. Italics supplied.
- (20) To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God. Broadside. Topsham, Me. Jan. 31, 1849
- (21) Ibid. Italics added.

Europe in connection with the February Revolution in 1848, which made a strong impression even on Americans. She explicitly mentioned the conditions in the Old World (22). The three mighty events were said to follow "in order" (23). She also reminded the adherents that "the sealing work", referring to Rev. 7, was going on, and time could last "but a little longer." Since the end was so near, she appealed to friends who believed in the doctrines of the Sabbatarian group to "dispose of their property" to sustain the work, when the Holy Spirit convinced them to do so (24). The "cause" drastically needed means to survive and the members were generally penniless. But there is no way of knowing what happened to the families, who donated their property to the movement.

At the end of 1849 EGW again prophesied about unheard of calamities caused by endemic disease or "pestilence." She warned:

"What we have seen and heard of the pestilence, is but a beginning of what we shall see and hear. Soon the dead and dying will be all around us. . . . Then the slain of the Lord will be from one end of the earth to the other; they will not be lamented, gathered, nor buried; but their ill savor will come up from the face of the whole earth. Those only who have the seal of the living God, will be sheltered from the storm of wrath, that will soon fall on the heads of those who have rejected the truth." (25)

The frightening prediction was a part of an appeal to members to support only the authorized preachers with their donations. Unauthorized preachers stood in a direct danger of being struck down by pestilence. Such drastic utterances may to some extent be understood in the early years, when the Sabbatarian Adventists had no formal organization. The prediction about the universal calamity is almost a paraphrase of Jer. 25:33. Messages from the Bible prophets came so readily to EGW that they seem to have influenced her own role situation.

The best known "panic" prophecy, however, was given her in connection with an Adventist conference at Battle Creek in 1856. Commencing with a general reprimand to the believers in reference to worldliness in "dress, in conversation, and actions", EGW went on to tell the members about a most solemn vision she had received.

We quote the central passage: "Some food for worms, some subjects of the seven last plagues, some will be alive and remain upon the earth to be translated at the coming of Jesus." (26)

(22) Ibid

(23) Ibid

(24) Ibid

(25) The Present Truth, Sep. 1849, p. 32. Italics added.

(26) White 1885, pp. 131, 132. Emphasis supplied. Originally printed in 1856.

In contrast to many other predictions this vision was very tangible and exact as the meaning and has, therefore, been observed with great anticipation in the Adventist Church. Lists with the names of the participants at the conference have circulated among members for many decades, until the last individual passed away. When Nichol probed into the problem, he saw no way out of this dilemma, but referred to the nature of conditional prophecies in EGW's production. If they were found in the Bible, why should not EGW have a right to speak in the same vein, he argued (27).

On several occasions young EGW delivered dramatic messages for individuals. It is true that she all through her ministry had messages to members or leaders in the SDA Church, but the contents were generally different in the early days. A typical example of the type of visions the young EGW received dates from 1850. In a letter to a Sabbatarian family she made it clear that there was a certain Brother who exerted a very negative influence as an "agent of Satan." The young prophet declared:

"God shew me at the conference that the last ray of light was taken from him (Terry) and that he would visit him with his judgements. . ." (28)

In the previous paragraph she enlarged on the spiritual condition of the Brother, although not in lucid terms. She wrote:

"There is something about that man black, that he did not confess at the conference. He is unclean, unholy in the sight of God and if you have him in your house you will be unclean because he is a dead body. The power of Satan is very great and Terry will make a complete agent for Satan to work through to destroy you all." (29)

At the end of the letter the family was informed of the view EGW maintained of the man that he was eternally lost for the sake of sexual sin. The student who is familiar with the Pauline writings may notice some parallels between this case and St. Paul's admonition in 1 Cor. 5:4-5.

Especially in the early formative years of the movement EGW defended her husband in her visions. James was being criticized by a "Brother Hollis." With Pastor Hollis, who was a convert from "first-day Adventists", the Sabbatarian group that at this time numbered perhaps not more than 2-300 members in all America (30), had received a potential rival to James

(27) Nichol 1951, ch. 8.

(28) White to Brother and Sister Loveland, Dec. 13, 1850. WEA. Wash. D.C. Italics added.

(29) Ibid

(30) We cannot state any exact number, when there were no record books at that time. However, we know from the reports at the Sabbath Conferences that between 50-100 took part in the deliberations, and not all of them were with the Sabbatarians.

White (31). Against those circumstances EGW delivered the following message about a certain Brother Hollis:

"God has shown me Brother Hollis' case in vision and unless he soon becomes a little child and breaks in pieces before God, he will be left to himself... God has shown me the true state of Brother Hollis. I know from the vision that his influence has been bad and against us." (32)

EGW was emphatic in her view of Brother Hollis. Sister Loveland had insinuated that EGW's opinion of him was nothing other than what she had been told from others. EGW not surprisingly refuted Sister Loveland's insinuations and continued:

"Since I have had the vision, I have seen Brother Bates and he told us that he reproved Brother Hollis for his feelings towards James... I cannot repeat it word for word, but that was the amount of it and more that I cannot repeat that makes things look very crooked in him." (33)

Such letters aptly reveal the function of the visions in the early formative period. EGW was important as a stabilising factor around the hard working leaders.

VII. EGW's Visionary "Bilderwelt"

As has been already demonstrated, it is obvious that EGW meets all the basic requirements of a genuine mystic, alongside with for example George Fox and other representatives of the 17th century. All too long this fact has been forgotten, even by specialists in the field.

EGW's literary production is impressive, but the characteristically visionary material is not particularly large. In this section some of the early visions will be studied with reference to contents, imagery, figures of speech, and style. The texts will first be reproduced in extenso.

- (31) Present Truth, Dec. 1850, p. 39. The note said:
"Eld. Nelson A. Hollis of Peacham, an Advent preacher who has had no Sabbath, for he discovered that the first day of the week was not the Sabbath, has embraced the true Sabbath. ... Five weeks ago last Sabbath he and his wife, and little son and daughter, all believers in the speedy advent of Christ, commenced keeping the Sabbath in good faith."
(32) White to Brother and Sister Loveland, Apr. 1, 1851. Italics added. WEA. Wash. D.C.
(33) *Ibm.* Emphasis supplied.

EGW's first printed vision or visions:

"Bro. Jacobs (1): - As God has shown me in holy vision the travels of the Advent people to the Holy City, and the rich reward to be given those who wait the return of their Lord from the wedding, it may be my duty to give you a short sketch of what God has revealed to me. The dear saints have got many trials to pass through. But our light afflictions which are but for a moment worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not for the things which are seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, the things which are not seen are eternal. I have tried to bring back a good report, and a few grapes from the heavenly Canaan, for which many would stone me, as the congregation bade stone Caleb and Joshua for their report. (Num. 14:10) But I declare to you my brother in the Lord, it is a goodly land, and we are well able to go up and possess it.

While praying at the family altar the Holy Ghost fell on me and I seemed to be rising higher and higher, far above the dark world. I turned to look for the Advent people in the world, but could not find them, when a voice said to me, "Look again, and look a little higher." At this, I raised my eyes and saw a straight and narrow path, cast up high above the world.

On this path the Advent people were travelling to the City, which was at the farther end of the path. They had a bright light set up behind them at the first end of the path, which an angel told me was the Midnight Cry. This light shone all along the path and gave light for their feet so they might not stumble. And if they kept their eyes fixed on Jesus, who was just before them, leading them to the City, they were safe. But soon some grew weary, and said the City was a great way off, and they expected to have entered it before.

Then Jesus would encourage them by raising his glorious right arm, and from his arm came a glorious light which waved over the Advent band, and they shouted, Hallelujah! Others rashly denied the light behind them, and said that it was not God that had led them out so far. The light behind them went out which left their feet in perfect darkness, and they stumbled and got their eyes off the mark and lost sight of Jesus, and fell off the path down in the dark and wicked world below. (It was just as impossible for them to get on the path again and go to the City, as all the wicked world which God had rejected. (1a) They fell all the way along the path one after another,

- (1) Enoch Jacobs was editor of the Millerite journal the Day-Star in Cincinnati, Ohio.
(1a) Words and sentences within brackets were omitted in later versions.

until we heard the voice of God like many waters, which gave us the day and hour of Jesus' coming. The living saints, 144,000, in number, know and understand the voice, while the wicked thought it was thunder and an earthquake. When God spake the time, he poured on us the Holy Ghost, and our faces began to light up and shine with the glory of God as Moses did when he came down from Mount Sinai, (Ex. 34: 30-34). (By this time) the 144,000 were all sealed and perfectly united. On their foreheads was written God, New Jerusalem, and a glorious Star containing Jesus' new name. At our happy, holy state the wicked were enraged, and would rush violently to lay hands on us to thrust us in prison, when we would stretch forth the hand in the name of the Lord, and the wicked would fall helpless to the ground. Then it was that the synagogus of Satan knew that God had loved us who could wash one another's feet and salute the (holy) brethren with a holy kiss, and they worshipped at our feet. Soon our eyes were drawn to the East, for a small black cloud had appeared about half as large as a man's hand, which we all knew the Sign of the Son of Man. We all in solemn silence gazed on the cloud as it drew nearer, lighter, and brighter, glorious, and still more glorious, till it was a great white cloud. The bottom appeared like fire, a rainbow was over it, around the cloud were ten thousand angels singing a most lovely song. And on it sat the Son of Man, on his head were crowns, his hair was white and curly and lay on his shoulders. His feet had the appearance of fire, in his right hand was a sharp sickle, in his left a silver trumpet. His eyes were as a flame of fire, which searched his children through and through. Then all faces gathered paleness, and those that God had rejected gathered blackness.

Then we all cried out, who shall be able to stand? Is my robe spotless? Then the angels ceased to sing, and there was some time of awful silence, when Jesus spoke, Those who have clean hands and a pure heart shall be able to stand, my grace is sufficient for you. At this our faces lighted up, and joy filled every heart. And the angels struck a note higher and sung again while the cloud drew still nearer to the earth. Then Jesus' silver trumpet sounded, as he descended on the cloud, wrapped in flames of fire, He gazed on the graves of the sleeping saints, then raised his eyes and hands to heaven and cried out Awake! Awake! ye that sleep in the dust, and arise. Then there was a mighty earthquake. The graves opened, and the dead came up clothed with immortality. The 144,000 shouted, Hallelujah! as they recognized their friends who had been torn from them by death, and in the same moment we were changed and caught up together with them to meet the Lord in the air. We all entered the cloud together, and were 7 days ascending to

the sea of glass, when Jesus brought along the crowns and with his own right hand placed them on our heads (2). He gave us harps of gold and palms of victory. Here on the sea of glass the 144,000 stood in perfect square. Some of them had very bright crowns, others not so bright. Some crowns appeared hung with stars, while others had but few. All were perfectly satisfied with their crowns. And they were all clothed with a glorious white mantle from their shoulders to their feet. Angels were all about us as we marched over the sea of glass to the gate of the City. Jesus raised his mighty glorious arm, laid hold of the gate and swung it back on its golden hinges, and he said to us, You have washed your robes in my blood, stood stiffly for my truth, enter in. We all marched in and felt we had a perfect right in the City. Here we saw the three of life, and the throne of God. Out of the throne came a pure river of water, and on either side of river was the tree of life. On one side of the river was a trunk of a tree and a trunk on the other side side of the river, both of pure transparent gold. At first I thought I see two trees. I looked again and saw they were united at the top of one tree. So it was the tree of life on either side of the river of life. Its branches bowed to the place where we stood. And the fruit was glorious, which looked like gold mixed with silver. We all went under the tree, and sat down to look at glory of the place, when Bro. Fitch, and Stockman, who had preached the gospel of the kingdom, whom God had laid in the grave to save them, came up to us and asked us what we had passed through while they were sleeping. We tried to call up our greatest trials, but they looked so small compared with the far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory that surrounded us, that we could not speak them out, and we all cried out Hallelujah, heaven is cheap enough, and we touched our glorious harps and made the heaven's arches ring.

Part Two

And as we were gazing at the glories of the place, our eyes were attracted upwards to something that had the appearance of silver. I asked Jesus to let me see what was within there. In a moment we were winging our way upward and entering in. Here we saw good old father Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Noah, Daniel, and many like them. And I saw a veil with a heavy fringe of silver, and gold as a border on the bottom. It was very beautiful. I asked Jesus what was within the veil. He raised it with his own right arm, and bade me take heed.

- (2) Cf. 2 Esdras 2:43. This imagery was of course commonplace among all Christians.

I saw there a glorious ark overlaid with pure gold, and it had a glorious border resembling Jesus' crowns. On it where two bright angels; their wings were spread over the ark as they sat on each end, with their faces turned towards each other and looking downward. In the ark, beneath where the angels wings were spread, was a golden pot of Manna of a yellowish cast; and I saw a rod, which Jesus said was Aarons (sic), I saw it bud, blossom, and bear fruit. - And I saw two golden rods on which hung silver wires, and on the wires most glorious grapes. One cluster was more than a man here can carry. And I saw Jesus step up and take of the manna, almonds, grapes, and pomegranates, and bear them down to the City, and place them on the supper table. I stepped (sic) up to see how much was taken away, and there was just as much left; and we shouted Hallelujah. Amen. /

Part Three

We all descended from this place down into the city, and with Jesus at our head we all descended from the city down to this earth, on a great and mighty mountain, which could not bear Jesus up, and it parted asunder, and there was a mighty plain. Then we looked up and saw the great city with twelve foundations, twelve gates, three on each side, and an angel at each gate, and all cried out the city, the great city, it's coming, it's coming down from God, out of heaven, and it came and settled on the place where we stood. Then we began to look at the glorious things outside of the city. There I saw glorious houses, that had the appearance of silver, supported by four pillars, set with pearls most glorious to behold, which were to be inhabited by the saints. In them was a golden shelf, I saw many of the saints go into the houses, take off their glittering crowns and lay them on the shelf, then go out into the field by the houses to do something with the earth; not as we have to do with the earth here; no, no. A glorious light shone all about their heads, and they were continually shouting and offering praises to God. And I saw another field full of flowers, and as I plucked them, I cried out, well they will never fade. Next I saw a field of tall grass, most glorious to behold. It was living green, and had a reflection of silver and gold as it wived proudly to the glory of King Jesus. Then we entered a field full of all kinds of beasts; the lion, the lamb, the leopard and the wolf, altogether in perfect union. We passed through the midst of them, and they followed on peaceably after. Then we entered a wood, not like the dark woods we have here, no, no; but light and all over glorious. The branches of the trees waved to and fro, and we all cried out we will dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in this (sic) woods. We passed

through the wood, for we are on our way to Mount Zion, as we were traveling along we met a company who were also gazing at the glories of the place: I noticed red as a border on their garments. Their crowns were brilliant - their robes were pure white. As we greeted them I asked Jesus who they were? He said they were martyrs that had been slain for him. With them was an innumerable company of little ones, they had a hem of red on their garments also. Mount Zion was just before us, and on the Mount sat a glorious temple, and about it were seven other mountains, on which grew roses and lilies (3), and saw the little ones climb, or if they chose use their little wings and fly to the top of the mountains, and pluck the never fading flowers. There were all kinds of trees around the temple to beautify the place. The box, the pine, the fir, the oil, the myrtle, the pomegranet, and the fig tree, bowed down with the weight of its timely figs that made the place look all over glorious. And as we were about to enter the holy temple, Jesus raised his lovely voice and said, only the 144,000 enter this place, and we shouted hallelujah. (Well bless the Lord, Bro. Jacobs, it is an extra meeting for those who have the seal of the living God.) This temple was supported by seven pillars, all of transparent gold, set with pearls most glorious. The (glorious) things I saw there, I cannot (begin to) describe. O, that I could talk in the language of Canaan, then could I tell a little of the glory of the upper world (4)(but if faithful you soon will know all about it). I saw there (the) tables of stone in which the names of the 144,000, were engraved in letters of gold. - After we have beheld the glory of the temple, we went out. Then Jesus left us and went to the city. Soon we heard this lovely voice again, saying: "Come my people; you have come out of the great tribulation, and done my will, suffered for me; come in to supper, for I will gird myself, and serve you." We shouted Hallelujah, glory, and entered into the city, and I saw a table of pure silver, it was many miles in length, yet our eyes could extend over it. (And) I saw the fruit of the tree of life, the manna, almonds, figs, pomegranets, grapes, and many other kinds of fruit. (We all reclined at the table.) I asked Jesus to let me eat of the fruit. He said, not now. Those who eat of the fruit of this land, go back to earth no more. But in a little while, if faithful, you shall both eat of the fruit of the tree of life, and drink of the water of the fountain, and he said you must go back to the earth again, and relate to others what I have revealed to you. Then an angel bore me gently down to this dark world. Sometimes I think

(3) Cf. 2 Esdras 2:19.

(4) Later editions read "better world".

I cannot stay here any longer, all things of earth look so dreary. I feel very lonely here, for I have seen a better land. O, that I had wings like a dove, then I would fly away, and be at rest. ELLEN G. HARMON.

N. B. This was not written for publication; but for the encouragement of all who may see it, and be encouraged by it.
E. G. H. (5)

The first vision described the contrasts between the "Remnant" which kept its faith in the "Seventh Month Movement" and the tragic fate of the rejecters of the 1844 event. A strong determination, which should not be confused with predestination, pervades the text. The first part of the vision, the only section that has been widely used, has a simple beauty and verve. It describes one leading theme: the thrilling travels of the "Advent people" to celestial bliss. A feeling of inspiration and hilarious jubilation vibrates in this passage. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* may have played some part for the plan. A significant we-consciousness pervades the vision. The despised Millerites, who tenaciously hold on to the October date, are pictured as the heirs of heaven's choicest blessings. The Parousia is described as very near. "By this time the 144,000 were all sealed and perfectly united." To the first readers this description no doubt meant that the Second Coming could happen at any time. At the end of the first part of the vision there is reported a conversation in heaven between EGW and two Millerites, pastors Fitch and Stockman, who died a short time prior to the consummation of Miller's movement. The last part of that incident is strikingly efficient:

We all went under the tree (probably the tree of life), and sat down to look at the glory of the place, when Bro. Fitch and Stockman, who had preached the gospel of the kingdom, whom God had laid down in the grave to save them, came up to us and asked us what we had passed through while they were sleeping."

Overwhelmed with the "glories" of the eternal heritage EGW and her friends commented:

We tried to call up our greatest trials, but they looked so small compared with the far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory (6) that surrounded us, that we could not speak them out, and we all cried out Hallelujah, heaven is cheap enough, and we touched our glorious harps and made heaven's arches ring."

The apocalyptic presentation of the 144,000 fills a central place in the narrative (7). In some details EGW added expressions from other

(5) DS, Jan. 24, 1846, pp. 31, 32.

(6) Cf. 2 Cor. 4:17.

(7) See for example Rev. 7:4-8; 14:1-5; 15:2-3.

parts of the Apocalypse; thus a promise given to the church in Philadelphia was applied to the 144,000. The name "God, New Jerusalem, and a glorious Star containing Jesus' new name", are examples of such discrepancies. However, EGW received most references from the Apocalypse. The Parousia is described as a literal event, visible to saints and sinners alike. The cloud that Jesus sits on is also mentioned in the Apocalypse (8). In addition to the Bible quotations or allusions EGW has the detail of Jesus' silver trumpet. There is no scriptural support for this idea, but St. Paul uses the expression "the trump of God" (9). The idea of the silver trumpet EGW might have received from some common printed reproduction of biblical themes. EGW took it for granted that the Parousia would take place in the East. Again no direct biblical reference can be given, but the concept agrees with an old Christian tradition. For the detailed description of the looks of Jesus she drew heavily from the Revelation, chapter one. The detail of the long, curly hair must be considered typical in a teenage girl.

When Jesus addresses the 144,000 he quotes parts of several familiar Bible texts, one from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament (10). This method was also typical in Miller's hermeneutic. Of particular interest was her description of the extended cosmic excursion of the saints. The passage through space would last for seven days. The crowning scene in heaven, when the saints will receive golden crowns, harps of gold and palms of victory is likewise a repetition of the Apocalypse. Like most Evangelicals in the United States EGW took everything in the Apocalypse pertaining to heaven in a literal sense. The original Eden state will be re-instated, she claimed (11). Like Adam and Eve in Paradise, the redeemed will build houses and work in the fields in their sinless condition. After the Last Judgement the saints will live on earth as man did prior to the Fall. In her early visions she believed that even Christ in his pre-existent state wore an impressive bodily form. This concept was important for EGW in her controversies with spiritualistic ideas. She instructed:

"Before Christ left heaven and came into the world to die, he was taller than the angels. ... But when his ministry commenced (on earth), he was but a little taller than the common size of men then living upon earth." (12)

And at resurrection of the righteous, the dead will again receive the size of their mortal bodies in an immortal form.

"All come forth from their graves the same in stature as when they entered the tomb. Adam, who stands among the risen throng, is of lofty height and majestic form, in stature but a little below

(8) Rev. 14:14.

(9) 1 Thess. 4:16.

(10) Ps. 24:4; Mt. 5:8; 2 Cor. 12:9.

(11) White 1903, p. 303, *Ibm.* 1911, ch. 42.

(12) White 1877, p. 39.

the Son of God. He presents a marked contrast to the people of later generations; in this one respect is shown the great degeneracy of the race. ... In the beginning, Adam was created in the likeness of God, not only in character, but in form and feature. ... Little children are borne by holy angels to their mother's arms, and together, with songs of gladness they ascend to the city of God." (13)

EGW's materialistic or concrete description of life in the other world was most likely influenced by some passages in the prophet Isaiah 65:19, 21-22 (14).

When the Revelator pictured the beauty of the New Jerusalem, he employed a great many figures of speech and brought together the most choice objects on earth. But EGW certainly outdid this exhibit of precious stones; indeed, she never tired of referring to the expensive metal. In her description even the trunks of the tree of life, which she described in a very complicated manner, were of "transparent gold." The fruit of that tree likewise was of "gold mixed with silver." Is it unrealistic to suggest that the extremely poor visionary in this way could anticipate her royal heritage as a child of the "King Jesus?"

Then follow 19 lines that have seldom been reprinted. The middle part consists of three elements: 1. the silvery houses the patriarchs, Daniel and many others live in on the new earth; 2. a view of the Mosaic tabernacle somehow transferred to heaven, with the two apartments, the ark and Aaron's budding rod and a few other things; 3. rods of gold with silver wires, on which grew "most glorious grapes." A kind of a climax is reached in this portion, when EGW describes how Jesus himself carries loads of manna, almonds and some fruit "to the city" to provide the saints with food. Here are mirrored the reflections of a pious and naive girl. Since the scene with the reclining saints is repeated in the third section of the vision without any of these incidents, the editors had a good reason for leaving out the middle part in the future.

In the last section of the long vision EGW gave a view of the life of the saints on the new earth. The passage begins with a reference to Zachariah 14, 4 about the "great and mighty mountain, which could not bear Jesus up, and parted asunder. "When she pictured the New Jerusalem, the Apocalypse was followed almost literally.

"Then we looked up and saw the great city with the twelve foundations, twelve gates, three on each side, ..."

But EGW did not stop her description of the New Earth typology there; she also gave a glimpse of "the glorious things outside of the city."

(13) White 1884, pp. 463, 464. Italics supplied.

(14) EGW comments on Is. 65:19, 21-23 in SSABC 1955, p. 335

The habitations of the redeemed are very similar to the buildings inside the New Jerusalem. She went on:

"I saw the most glorious houses, that had the appearance of silver, supported by four pillars, set with pearls most glorious to behold."

The standing epithet for almost everything EGW views is "glorious." The detail with the golden shelf for the crown of life, well fits the simple, naive, but suggestive style in the narrative.

The scenes from the celestial flora and fauna show a definite dependence on the narratives of the Old Testament prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel (15). Apocryhal or pseudoepigraphal allusions lie behind the descriptions of the crowning scene in heaven and idea of the seven mountains surrounding Mount Zion (16). In contrast to her view of the New Jerusalem, EGW here pictured nature sceneries which are familiar to us humans. She saw flowers that never fade and a tall grass though with a reflection "of silver and gold." In the bright woods of Zion EGW met a company of martyrs, dressed in "pure white" with a hem of red on their garments. A charming incident in this conventional scene visualizes how the "little ones" from the martyrs' group were climbing the slopes of Mount Zion.

"Mount Zion was just before us, and on the Mount sat a glorious temple, and about it were seven other mountains, on which grew roses and lilies, and I saw the little ones climb, or if they chose, use their little wings and fly to the top of the mountains, and pluck the never fading flowers."

Such remarks reveal that the visionary was a woman.

At the end of the narrative EGW gave a short description of "a glorious temple" on Mount Zion. This part has no support in the canonical biblical text. In order to describe the shrine EGW used conventional terms. The temple "was supported by seven pillars, all of transparent gold, set with pearls most glorious." Apocrypha contain similar scenes.

At the end of the vision EGW pictured a tremendous view, when all the saints will recline at the heavenly dinner table of pure silver, "many miles in length." On that immense table will be loaded manna, almonds, figs, and pomegranates, grapes, and many other kinds of fruit. At last Jesus himself gave EGW a definite assurance as to her own share in the heavenly bliss.

EGW's first published version of her December vision well pictures the mind of a young, immature visionary. The narrative has a beauty of its own and well meets the requirements of a genuine vision, even if

(15) Is. 11:2-9; 35:1-10; 65:17-25; Ez. 35:25-27; Jer. 31:15-17.

(16) 2 Esdras 2:19, 43.

there are practically no original thoughts in the document. It is surprising how familiar EGW was with many parts of the Bible already at this time. Most of the figures of speech belong to the Apocalypse.

Two more specimens of typical visions will be given from the period of the young EGW; this time from the epoch 1845-1849.

"A Vision", April 7, 1847, printed by Joseph Bates in New Bedford, Mass.:

"Dear Brother Bates: - Last Sabbath we met with the dear brethren and sisters here, who meet at Bro. Howlands's. We felt an unusual spirit of prayer. And as we prayed, the Holy Ghost fell upon us. We were very happy. Soon I was lost to earthly things, and was wrapped up in a vision of God's glory. I saw an angel swiftly flying to me. He quickly carried me from the earth to the Holy City. In the city I saw a temple, which I entered. I passed through a door before I came to the first veil. This veil was raised, and I passed into the Holy Place. Here I saw the Altar of Incense, the candlestick with seven lamps, and the table on which was the showbread, etc. After viewing the glory of the Holy, Jesus raised the second veil, and I passed into the Holy of Holies.

In the Holiest I saw an ark; on the top and sides of it was purest gold. On each end of the ark was a lovely Cherub, with their wings spread out over it. Their faces were turned towards each other, and they looked downwards. Between the angels was a golden censor. (sic!) Above the ark, where the angels stood, was an exceeding bright glory, that appeared like a throne where God dwelt. Jesus stood by the ark. And as the saints' prayers came up to Jesus, the incense in the censor would smoke, and He offered up the prayers of the saints with the smoke of the incense to His Father. In the ark, was the golden pot of manna, Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of stone which folded together like a book. Jesus opened them, and I saw the ten commandments written on them with the finger of God. On one table was four, on the other six. The four on the first table shone brighter than the other six. But the fourth (the Sabbath commandment) shone above them all; for the Sabbath was set apart to be kept in the honor of God's holy name. The holy Sabbath looked glorious - a halo of glory was all around it. I saw that the Sabbath was not nailed to the cross. If it was, the other nine commandments were; and we are at liberty to go forth and break them all, as well as to break the fourth. I saw that if God had not changed the Sabbath, for he never changes. But the Pope had changed it from the seventh to the first day of the week; for he was to change times and laws.

And I saw that if God had changed the Sabbath, from the seventh to the first day, He would have changed the writing of the Sabbath commandment, written on the tables of stone, which are now in the ark, in the Most Holy Place of the Temple in heaven; and it would read thus: The first day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. But I saw that it read the same as when written on the tables of stone by the finger of God, and delivered to Moses in Sinai, "But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." I saw that the holy Sabbath is, and will be the separating wall between the true Israel of God and unbelievers; and that the Sabbath is the great question to unite the hearts of God's dear waiting saints. (And if one believed, and kept the Sabbath, and received the blessing attending it, and then gave it up, and broke the holy commandment, they would shut the gates of the Holy City against themselves, as sure as there was a God that rules in heaven above.) I saw that God had children, who do not see and keep the Sabbath. They had not rejected the light on it. And at the commencement of the time of trouble, we were filled with the Holy Ghost as we went forth and proclaimed the Sabbath more fully. This enraged the church, and nominal Adventists, as they could not refute the Sabbath truth. And at this time, God's chosen, all saw clearly that we had the truth, and they came out and endured the persecution with us. And I saw the sword, famine, pestilence, and great confusion in the land. The wicked thought we had brought the judgements down on them. They rose up and took counsel to rid the earth of us, thinking that then the evil would be stayed.

(I saw all that "would not receive the mark of the Beast, and of his Image, in their foreheads or in their hands," could not buy or sell. I saw that the number (666) of the Image Beast was made up; and that it was the beast that changed the Sabbath, and the Image Beast had followed on after, and kept the Pope's, not God's Sabbath. And all we were required to do was to give up God's Sabbath, and keep the Pope's, and then we should have the mark of the Beast, and of his Image.)

In the time of trouble, we all fled from the cities and villages, but were persued by the wicked, who entered the house of the saints with the sword. They raised the sword to kill us, but it broke, and fell, as powerless as a straw. Then we all cried day and night for deliverance, and the cry came up before God. The sun came up, and the moon stood still. The streams ceased to flow. Dark heavy clouds came up, and clashed against each other. But there was one clear place of settled glory, from whence came the voice of God like many waters, which shook the heavens and the earth. The sky opened and shut, and was in commotion. The mountains shook like a reed in the wind, and

cast out stones upon the land. And as God spoke the day and hour of Jesus' coming, and delivered the everlasting covenant to His people, He spoke one sentence, and then paused, while the words were rolling through the earth! The Israel of God stood with their eyes fixed upwards, listening to the words as they came from the mouth of Jehovah, and rolled through the earth like peals of loudest thunder! It was awfully solemn. At the end of every sentence, the saints shouted, Glory! Hallelujah! Their countenances were lighted up with the glory of God; and they shone with the glory as Moses' face did when he came down from Sinai. The wicked could not look on them for the glory. And the never ending blessing was pronounced on those who had honored God, in keeping His Sabbath holy, there was a mighty shout of victory over the Beast, and over his Image.

Then commenced the jubilee, when the land should rest. I saw the pious slave rise in triumph and victory, and shake off the chains that bound him, while his wicked master could not understand the words of the voice of God. Soon appeared the great white cloud. It looked more lovely than ever before. On it sat the Son of Man. At first we did not see Jesus on the cloud, but as it drew near the earth, we could behold his lovely person. This cloud when it first appeared was the Sign of the Son of Man in heaven. The voice of the Son of God called forth the sleeping saints, clothed with a glorious immortality. The living saints were changed in a moment, and caught up with them in the cloudy chariot. It looked all over glorious as it rolled upwards. On either sides of the chariot were wings, and beneath it wheels. And as the chariot rolled upwards, the wheels cried Holy, and the wings as they moved, cried Holy, and the retinue of Holy Angels around the cloud cried Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. And the saints in the cloud cried Glory, Hallelujah. And the cloud chariot rolled upwards to the Holy City. Jesus threw open the gates of the Golden City, and led us in. Here we were made welcome, for we had kept the "Commandments of God", and had a "right to the tree of life."

From your sister in the blessed hope,

E. G. White."

The second and last document to be examined appeared in the critical year 1849 and dealt with the "sealing" of the saints.

"TO THOSE WHO ARE RECEIVING THE SEAL OF THE LIVING GOD.

"This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall

prophecy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: And on my servants, and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophecy."

At the commencement of the Holy Sabbath, (Jan. 5) we engaged in prayer with Bro. Belden's family at Rocky Hill, Ct., and the Holy Ghost fell upon us. I was taken off in vision to the most holy place, where I saw Jesus still interceding for Israel. On the bottom of his garment was a bell and a pomegranate. Then I saw that Jesus would not leave the most holy place until every case was decided either for salvation or destruction: that the wrath of God could not come until Jesus had finished his work in the most holy place-laid off his priestly attire and clothed himself in the garments of vengeance. Then Jesus will step out from between the Father and man, and God will keep silent no longer; but pour out his wrath on those who have rejected his truth. I saw that the anger of the nations, the wrath of God, and the time to judge the dead, were separate events, one following the other I saw that Michael had not stood up, and that the time of trouble, such as never was, had not yet commenced. The nations are now getting angry, but when our High Priest has finished his work in the Sanctuary, he will stand up, put on his garments of vengeance, and then the seven last plagues will be poured out. I saw that the four angels would hold the four winds until Jesus' work was done in the Sanctuary, and then will come the seven last plagues. These plagues enraged the wicked against the righteous, and they thought that we had brought them down upon them, and if they could rid the earth of us, then the plagues would be stayed. A decree went forth to slay the saints, which caused them to cry day and night for deliverance. This was the time of Jacob's trouble. Then the saints cried out with anguish of spirit, and were delivered by the Voice of God. Then the 144,000 triumphed. Their faces were lighted up with the glory of God. Then I was shown a company howling in agony. On their garments was written in large characters - thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting. I asked who this company were. The angel said, "these are they who once kept the Sabbath and have given it up." I heard them cry with a loud voice - "we have believed in thy coming, and taught it with energy." And while they were speaking, their eyes would fall upon their garments and see the writing, and then they would wail aloud. I saw they had drunk of the deep waters, and fouled their residue with their feet - trodden the Sabbath underfoot, and that is why they were weighed in the balance and found wanting. Then my attending angel directed me to the city again, where I saw four angels winging their way to the gate of the city, and were just presenting the golden card to the angel at the gate. Then I saw another angel swiftly flying

from the direction of the most excellent glory, and crying with a loud voice to the other angels, and waving something up and down in his hand. I asked my attending angel for an explanation of what I saw. He told me he would show me no more then, but he would shortly show me what those things that I then saw meant.

Sabbath afternoon one of our members was sick, and requested prayers that he might be healed. We all united in applying to the Physician who never lost a case, and while healing power came down, and the sick was healed, the Spirit fell upon me and I was taken off in vision. (I saw the state of some who stood on present truth, but disregarded the visions, - the way God had chosen to teach in some cases, those who erred from Bible truth, I saw that in striking against the visions they did not strike against the worm - the feeble instrument that God spake through; but against the Holy Ghost. I saw it was a small thing to speak against the instrument, but it was dangerous to slight the words of God. I saw if they were in error and God chose to show them their errors through visions, and they disregarded the teachings of God through visions, they would be left to take their own way, and run in the way of error, and think they were right, until they would find it out too late. Then in the time of trouble I heard them cry to God in agony - "Why didst thou not show us our wrong, that we might have got right and been ready for this time?" Then an angel pointed to them and said - 'My Father taught, but you would not be taught. - He spoke through visions, but you disregarded his voice, and he gave you up to your own ways, to be filled with your own doings.")

(Then) I saw four angels who had a work to do on the earth, and were on their way to accomplish it. Jesus was clothed with priestly garments. He gazed with pity on the remnant, then raised his hands (upward,) and with a voice of deep pity cried - "MY BLOOD, FATHER, MY BLOOD, MY BLOOD." Then I saw an exceeding bright light come from God, who sat upon the great white throne, and was shed all about Jesus. Then I saw an angel with a commission from Jesus, swiftly flying to the four angels who had a work to do on earth, and waving something up and down in his hand, and crying with a loud voice - "HOLD! HOLD! HOLD! until the servants of God are sealed in their foreheads." - I asked my accompanying angel the meaning of what I heard, and what the four angels were about to do. He said to me that it was God that restrained the powers, and that he gave his angel charge over things on the earth, and that the four angels had power from God to hold the four winds, and that they were about to let the four winds go, and while they had started out on their mission to let them go, and the merciful eye of Jesus gazed on the remnant that were not all sealed, then he

raised his hands to the Father and plead with him that he had spilled his blood for them. Then another angel was commissioned to fly swiftly to the four angels, and bid them hold until the servants of God were sealed with the seal of the living God in their foreheads." (17)

The first vision that Joseph Bates printed, described the setting of many visions in the small Sabbatarian conventicles. The vision began with a paraphrase of the Old Testament sanctuary service and some passages in the Apocalypse (18). The thrust of the whole communication was EGW's confirmation of the Seventh-day Sabbath.

The Sabbath would be "a separating wall between the true Israel of God and unbelievers." Moreover, the Sabbath was given eschatological importance as a decisive factor in the final conflict between "nominal Adventists", i. e. non-Sabbath keeping Millerites, and the Sabbath keeping group.

In this early vision EGW, moreover, gave some general apocalyptic descriptions and predicted how war, "famine" and pestilence would rage in the land. As was typical in EGW she "saw" what others could read straight from the Bible, for example her description of the "mark of the beast" in Revelation 14. She interspersed such biblical references with interpretations of the popular Apocalyptic passages, as she had heard it in the Sabbatarian groups. The number (666) of the Image Beast (sic) was made up she repeated without any further comment. Evidently she did not understand this point herself, as she even gave an incorrect rendering of the term, for the Revelator does not speak of the number of the Image Beast. Evidently EGW reiterated the popular meaning of her Sabbatarian brethren contending that the mystical number 666 stood for the number of the sects or denominations in the United States, because at this early time the Sabbatarian group had not yet arrived at the later concept of making the Pope or the Vicarius Filii Dei the man with the apocalyptic number. The latter part of the 1847 vision culminates in a vivid description of the Parousia. For this part she made use of stock in trade imagery and quoted passages from Apocrypha and pseudoepigraphical books (18a). There is a striking intensity behind the description, and the scenes were no doubt very real to the young visionary.

(17) To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God. Printed at Topsham, Me., Jan. 31, 1849.

(18) A Vision, April 7, 1847. Printed at New Bedford, Mass.

(18a) Cf. the unreleased EGW letters 1848-1849, esp. Mar. 22, 1849. She even encouraged the "brethren" to study apocryphal books for light on last day events. Such views were common among Millerites. Cf. the Advent Herald, Feb. 12, 1845.

A significant detail in the last paragraph cannot be omitted, her reasoning about the "pious slave." In 1847 she evidently believed that no slaves would be freed in America before the second coming of Christ. In fact she preserved this pessimistic view even at the beginning of the Civil War (19). In the closing passage she alluded to some descriptions in the book of Ezekiel (20). The vision ends in a triumphant vein.

Especially in the early formative years EGW had considerable difficulties to express her views in a lucid way, so far as planning, grammar and style are concerned. Most of these limitations were compensated by the work of her editors, however. In the early years her husband made this editorial polishing. Despite such weaknesses the early visions often reveal a charm of their own, and the style is lively, if not perfect. The visionary qualities are evident. A logical terminus for ending this period seems to be 1856, when EGW revived after the shut door crisis. We now turn to our discussion of this fruitful period in her life.

Chapter Four

THE MATURE PROPHET

(19) Cf. White 1885, pp. 255-268.

(20) Cf. Ex. ch. 10.

I. The Didactic Visions

a. Testimonies for the Church

The long life of EGW can be divided into several periods, a device which is useful to the historian. For there is a considerable difference between the young and inexperienced prophet and the mature EGW. There is also an old EGW. As a tentative date between the young and the mature EGW this writer has suggested 1856, when the shut door years were over and the prophet once more set out as an instructor for the unorganized Sabbatarian Adventists. EGW commenced the new era with a series of revelations. Those views in time became known as the Testimonies for the Church. Eventually they grew into nine thick volumes amounting to some 5000 pages of didactic material. These volumes are important also for the historian as a primary source for understanding the development of the Adventist Church. Following the suggestion of a German specialist in religious mysticism, one feels entitled to characterize these visions as "Lehrvisionen" (1).

In addition to the Testimonies EGW wrote commentaries on the sacred history. The best known volumes in this genre are the five books in the so called "Conflict Series" (2). And there are several handbooks for the denomination (3). Some of those manuals have even exerted an influence in other religious groups (4).

The first Testimony to be printed was a cheap "broadside" piece in 1855 (5). Six leading Adventists listed at the end of the publication recommended the printing of the vision (6). Foremost among those were the pioneer workers Joseph Bates, M.E. Cornell, and the young editor Uriah Smith (7). At a small gathering, with only 36 souls present, the vision had been read in public; evidently by the prophetherself (8). The idea of reading

- (1) The term "prophet" is employed in the pragmatic, popular way.
- (1a) Benz 1969, pp. 150, 151
- (2) The Conflict Series consists of Patriarchs and Prophets, Prophets and Kings, The Desire of Ages (a so called Life of Jesus) The Acts of the Apostles, and The Great Controversy.
- (3) The foremost handbooks deal with ministerial work, education, and medical training. The term "denomination" is used in a popular way here without due consideration to strictly sociological definitions.
- (4) Steps to Christ has seen a number of reprints in many languages. At least 15 million copies have been published.
- (5) Most likely the first ed. was very small, amounting to a few hundred copies.
- (6) Testimony for the Church. Broadside, printed in Battle Creek, Mich. n.d.
- (7) Ibid
- (8) Testimony for the Church, broadside, n.d.

visions soon became a characteristic feature in Adventist Churches. If EGW was present in person, she generally related a vision or addressed the congregation (9).

Practically all items pertaining to the religious and secular life of the members are discussed in the Testimonies. Sermons and exhortations saturated with biblical references dominate the works. But there are also many recommendations to individuals EGW knew or had seen in vision. Some volumes are reserved for topical presentations. Volume five is rich in doctrine and discusses the sanctified life in great detail; whereas volume six is concerned with the ministerial work, with education and the expanding medical work. We shall analyse the contents in the Testimonies with specific reference to the first two volumes.

The first Testimony began with a narrative dealing with the setting of the vision, EGW explained:

"November 20th while in prayer, the Spirit of the Lord suddenly and powerfully came upon me, and I was taken off in vision." (10)

In the ensuing text EGW struck some doleful notes, when "the church" was upbraided for its cool attitude toward her visions. This was the reason why the Spirit of glory had been "dying away from" the group. A typical setting read:

"I saw that the reason why visions had not been more frequent of late, is, they have not been appreciated by the Church. The Church have nearly lost their spirituality and faith, and the reproofs and warnings have had but little effect upon them." (11)

The vision well explained the situation at that time. The visionary character of the early Testimony was further underlined in another setting, where she quoted the words of an angel:

"They must get it (the truth) warm from glory, carry it in their bosoms, and pour it out in the warmth and earnestness of the soul to those that hear." (12)

The reproof was primarily directed to the ministers and reflected the emotional fervour of the dynamic American frontier religion, which EGW knew so well.

In the same publication EGW touched upon the meagre finances and pointed out how unwilling many members were to make substantial contribu-

(9) An EGW address was much appreciated at all great convocations of Adventists, such as General Conference sessions, or a camp meeting session.

(10) Testimony for the Church, broadside, n.d.

(11) Ibid. Italics supplied.

(12) Ibid.

tions to the "work." Fellow believers had left New England or upstate New York with the hopes of getting rich in the West. Again her interpretus had words of warning:

"I was shown some coming from the East to the West. I saw that it should not be the object of those who leave the East for the West to get rich, but to win souls for the truth. Said the angel, 'Let thy works show it is not for honor, or to lay up a treasure on earth, that ye have moved West, but to hold up and exalt the standard of truth'." (13)

Instead of the popular craving for material blessings EGW held up spiritual assets before her fellow believers. Her cherished term for this was the "truth", i.e. the doctrinal teachings of the group (14). It is hard not to notice a sectarian slant in the expression; EGW emphasized the missionizing fervour to be spread into all directions, to saints and sinners alike. Christians in other Protestant affiliations must also be reached with the "message." Indeed, if the few adherents were to grow into another of America's many denominations or sects (14a), the Sabbatarian witness must be strengthened and the believers must be willing to sacrifice a great deal to the cause. The pioneer spirit is evident in these settings.

The first vision of the Testimony genre also gives a realistic view of internal strife among the Sabbatarian leaders. In remote Wisconsin (15) an anti-vision group had begun to develop. Two ministers by the name of J.M. Stephenson and D.P. Hall had opened a veritable campaign against the Whites. One point in their criticism referred to EGW's involvement in the shut door view, which she definitely abandoned some time in 1851. Alluding to the paper those critics published, The Messenger of Truth, the Whites called this first "offshoot" among Sabbatarian Adventists, the Messenger Party. Apart from a hostile attitude towards EGW the opposers had embraced a variant form of apocalyptic interpretation, known as the Age-to-come idea. In substance it defended an earthly millennium with a prosperous revival season for sinners after the parousia. Such views were very popular in America at that time, but the Sabbatarian group rejected them. Evidently "the Messenger Party" was a dangerous defection, since EGW remarked, that it was the greatest "deception", since "the rise of the Advent doctrine" (16). In fact several permanent non-EGW Adventist groups have grown out of this protest group (16a).

(13) Ibid, Emphasis added.

(14) It is significant for the movement that the first journal was called the Present Truth.

(14a) "Sect" is used in a neutral way inter alia to denote doctrinal emphasis on certain points.

(15) Testimony for the Church, n.d. SDAE 1966, p.770.

(16) SDAE 1966, p.770.

(16a) Ibid.

At the end of the first Testimony EGW explained the objective of the new medium. She wrote:

"The word of God tells us how we may become perfect Christians, and escape the seven last plagues... No one but Christ is given us as an example. He is our true Pattern, and each should excel in imitating Him." (17)

This holiness doctrine, called "Christian perfection" was a common place component in most American churches. In order to single out the saints from the sinners *adiaphora* or outward things, such as details in dress and behaviour are frequent incidents in the Testimonies.

EGW was undoubtedly an exponent for the work ethics in the American frontier society, where thrift and simple manners were praised. Even minor tokens of worldliness in believers were reprimanded. EGW commented in another vision from 1856:

"I saw some professed Sabbath keepers spend hours that are worse than thrown away, in studying this or that fashion, to decorate the poor, mortal body. While you make yourselves appear like the world, and as beautiful as you can, remember that the same body may in few days be food for worms. And while you adorn it to your taste, to please the eye, you are dying spiritually. God hates your vain, wicked pride, and he looks upon you as a whited sepulchre, full of corruption and uncleanness within." (18)

The Puritan work ethics reflected in EGW also determined her view of reading and art (19). She could not find any room whatever for the reading of "sentimental" novels or other types of fiction (20). No literary classics could be condoned, not even such harmless works as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, or *Robinson Crusoe* (21). In particular EGW banned fiction of all kinds for its tendency to absorb the time that should be reserved for Bible reading. She emphasized:

"The course that many parents pursue in allowing their children to be indolent and to gratify their desire for reading romance is unfitting them for real life. Novel and book reading are the greatest evils in which youth can indulge. Novel and love-story readers fail to make good, practical mothers. They are castle-builders, living in an unreal, an imaginary

- (17) *Testimony for the Church*, n.d. Italics added.
(18) White 1885, p. 134. Emphasis added.
(19) The German sociologist Max Weber well understood this problem.
(20) White 1905, p. 446. *Ibm* 1885a, pp. 236, 326, 481.
(21) White 1889, 516-519.

world. They become sentimental and have sick fancies. Their artificial life spoils them for anything useful." (22)

In another setting EGW warns a "lovesick" sister, who was almost "ruined" in body and soul as a result of her novel reading. EGW counselled:

"Read your Bible as you never read it before. Engage in home duties, and lighten the cares of your overburdened, over-worked parents." (23)

On the frontier and also elsewhere in America during its famous westward movement there was generally little room for culture or a normal amorous life. Consequently there were many emotionally starved souls, who took to novel reading, at least clandestinely, to find some substitute for their dull lives on the farms. For EGW love was primarily an enduring principle (24). Like many Pietist writers she compared the fiction reader to a drunkard (25). Not even the greatest names in the annals of literature, such as William Shakespeare, meant anything to her. When the editor of the *Signs of the Times* at the turn of the century used a picture showing the birthplace of Shakespeare in a church paper with a short article on the great dramatist, EGW was severely upset. She burst out:

"I was greatly pained to see on the first place of the *Signs* a picture of the birthplace of Shakespeare, accompanied by an article on Shakespeare. May the Lord pity our discernment, if we have no better food than this to give the flock of God. It greatly distresses me to see those in positions of trust, who should daily be gaining a rich experience, placing such matter before the people... Let them see the sinfulness of exalting such men as Shakespeare, calling the attention of people to those who did not in their lives honor God or represent Christ." (26)

There are no indications that EGW ever modified this anti-intellectual attitude (27). As late as 1905 she reinforced her traditional view.

- (22) White 1885 b, p. 152. Italics supplied.
(23) White 1885 a, p. 325. Emphasis added.
(24) White 1885 c, pp. 233, 415, 504.
(25) Cf. Peterson 1971. Duplicated.
(26) EGW Letter 106, quoted in White 1946 a, pp. 172-176. EGW referred to Shakespeare's birthplace as "an idolatrous shrine."
(27) EGW's fears of novels or fictional literature, was typical in Puritan religion. A commentator explains: "The absence of novelists is quite understandable: the novel form had not even developed fully in England. The Puritan members of the colonies believed that fiction ought not to be read because it was by definition, not true." *Highlights of American Literature*. A course in American literature for the advanced study of English. Book I. Wash.D.C. 1970, p. 6. Cf. also Hofstadter 1964.

A central paragraph says:

"Many a miserable, neglected home, many a lifelong invalid, many an inmate of the insane asylum, has become such through the habit of novel reading." (28)

As much as EGW resented even classical fiction, she loved another sort of made-up literature: the popular morality tales of the Victorian age. In fact she took such liking to this genre that she herself collected whole books of those stories. The collected tales, assigned for Sabbath afternoon occupation, remind us of the stuff EGW no doubt read in Sunday School as a girl (29). By and large this genre was marked by a cheap style and a questionable morality.

An expert in Victorian literature, Dr. William S. Peterson, has devoted some attention to EGW's literary taste (30). In his opinion EGW's vehement attacks on literature and the fine arts were a typical feature in American Methodism, when EGW was a Methodist. However, the Methodists gradually abandoned this anti-culture attitude a short time after EGW left them. Peterson therefore wonders what might have happened to EGW and her view of art, if she had remained Methodist somewhat longer (31).

EGW's literary taste was bad, Peterson contends, both in reference to literary qualities and moral values. EGW's Sabbath Readings he found so disgusting that he gave up the intention to read all of them (32).

EGW's great influence in the SDA Church has made it difficult for members to enjoy even the literary classics and English teachers are facing considerable problems, when they are set to teach fiction, which the prophet denounced (33).

EGW was a consistent representative for the Puritan Pietist work ethics and likewise condemned card playing and other pastime games. She advised:

"There are amusements, such as dancing, card playing, chess, checkers... which we cannot approve, because Heaven condemns them... They have an exciting influence, producing in some minds a passion for those plays which lead to gambling and dissipation. All such plays

should be condemned by Christians, and something perfectly harmless should be substituted in their place." (34)

Like many Evangelicals Adventists take no part in the activities in the ball room and avoid "exciting" card playing. But with the motion toward denominational status, several sectarian characteristics are dying out, and even in the S D A Church chess and checkers are no longer considered obnoxious; the introduction of substitute cards has led to a re-evaluation of the "real" cards in some countries. Admittedly it is very difficult to follow EGW's advice to the letter and present a "perfectly harmless" alternative (34a) to the pastime occupation other people enjoy. After all human nature seeks excitement at times in order to forget the hardships of life.

But there is more to education than the negative aspects we have discussed so far. In order to give a balanced picture of her philosophy of education (34b), one must not forget that EGW strongly supported the idea of "Bible" based schools, where Adventist youth could receive a proper practical education in a milieu that was helpful for their spiritual development. More often than not educational institutions tend to foster refined cultural values.

In the order to provide the students and the members with a "harmless" sort of physical exercise EGW recommended excursions in nature. For she drew the line between exciting and sinful amusements and upbuilding recreation (35). A typical setting from the Testimonies reads:

"Let several families living in a city or village unite and leave the occupations which have taxed them physically and mentally, and make an excursion into the country to the side of a fine lake or a nice grove where the scenery of nature is beautiful. They should provide themselves with plain, hygienic food the very best fruits and grains, and spread their table under the shade of some tree or under the canopy of heaven. The ride (with horses!), the exercise, and the scenery will quicken the appetite, and they can enjoy a repast which kings might envy." (36)

The pastoral beauty EGW depicted reminds us somewhat of Constable's landscape paintings, of an age forever gone, when air- and water pollution was an unknown concept.

(28) White 1905, p. 446. Italics supplied.

(29) Sabbath Readings for the Home Circle, publ. by M.A. Vroman. 1905.

(30) Peterson 1971. Duplicated.

(31) Ibid

(32) Ibid

(33) Källstad 1974, pp. 27-48. Wesley was well read in the classics and knew his Shakespeare; but that view he held before his evangelical conversion.

(34) White 1885, p. 514. Italics supplied.

(34a) EGW saw no value in concerts, drama or painting. Cf. White 1889, pp. 88, 92, 93. RH, Mar. 17, 1894. White 1885 a, p. 589.

(34b) Cf. her manual on education, White 1903.

(35) White 1903, p. 207.

(36) White 1885, p. 514.

In addition to outdoor exercise of a non-exciting kind (37), EGW recommended manual work for students (38). This idea was not original with EGW, for some schools in the United States had tested it some decades before the Adventists opened their Battle Creek College in 1874 (39).

The first volume of the Testimonies also contains practical hints for unschooled members. Apart from the visions dealing with health reform, the number of meals to take and other aspects on health and diet, EGW told her sisters what quality of cloth to buy for the dresses they sewed, and she even supplied them with a pattern for a special "reform dress" (40). Believers were cautioned not to invest money in life insurance companies or in patent rights (41). Instead of purchasing bonds in risky enterprises, she advised the brethren to invest in the heavenly bank, which gave the highest dividends (42). Such hints reveal a practical, down-to-earth mystic, reminding us somewhat of St. Brigitte of Sweden.

And there were other problems to discuss in the 60s. The movement was growing in numbers and a new generation of believers was joining the ranks. For this group 1844 and the critical formative years were merely history. Young Adventists, therefore, needed special admonition to fit into the Adventist community. EGW therefore reproved "Young Sabbath keepers":

"How little do the young suffer, or deny self, for their religion! To sacrifice is scarcely thought of among them. They entirely fail of imitating the Pattern in this respect. I saw that the language of their lives is: Self must be gratified, pride must be indulged. They forget the Man of Sorrows, who was acquainted with grief. The sufferings of Jesus in Gethsemane. His sweating as it were great drops of blood in the garden, the platted crown of thorns that pierced his holy brow, do not move them." (43)

Volume two of the Testimonies commences with a series of "testimonies" to individuals. In 1867, this type of counselling was printed in the regular Testimonies (44).

- (37) White 1903, p. 210.
- (38) White 1903, *passim*.
- (39) Thomas 1950, pp. 38, 39, quoted in Vande Vere, *Some Neglected Chapters in Educational Reform*, n.d. pp. 15-20. Duplicated. AU, Berrien Springs, Mich. As for the history of Battle Creek College, see Vande Vere 1972.
- (40) White 1885, pp. 485-495, 546, 559, 695. White 1885 b, pp. 144, 189, White 1885 a, pp. 66, 174, 175, 180, 181, 297-299. There are approx. 1000 entries in the Index to the EGW writings under "clothing" alone. See also Rebok 1956, pp. 211-276.
- (41) White 1885, pp. 549-551, 225, 226, 304, 305.
- (42) *Ibm*, p. 226.
- (43) White 1885, p. 155.
- (44) White 1885 a, p. 630.

In the introduction EGW reported how the members had received her "plain" Testimonies. Some had thankfully accepted "the testimonies" and confessed their faults, whereas others had paid little attention to the EGW letters. A third group had rejected the messages altogether (45). The report apparently mirrored the reactions in a realistic way.

EGW had been somewhat hesitant to print the private letters. After some hard thinking, however, she had decided to publish the letters, on the ground that they contained "more or less reproof and instruction" that applied to hundreds in similar conditions (46). Thus she hoped to get rid of most of the criticism from the side of some members, who thought that the publication of private letters contradicted the recommendation of Jesus in Mt. 18, 15-18 (47). Obviously EGW believed in a casuistic or "case" ethics. As for structure and style, the personal "testimonies" resemble her preaching. There is a heavy emphasis on the Imitatio-Christi ideal. In our analysis only a few typical "case studies" can be given. A brother, who was tempted to make a fortune in the "world" at the expense of his Adventist faith, or to "sell his birthright", was referred to the tragic fate of Esau (48). She reproved him:

"... you are about to sacrifice truth and duty to your own convenience. You are looking at your own present pecuniary advantage and losing sight of the eternal weight of glory... You were just on the point of selling your birthright for a mess of pottage." (49)

In comparison with the unfathomable reward that awaits the faithful Christians at the Second Coming, worldly gain dwindles to nothing, she contended (49a). The closing paragraph merits some observation. She admonished:

"Let nothing obstruct your progress in the way of everlasting life. Your eternal interest is at stake. There must be a thorough work wrought in you. You must be fully converted, or you will fail of heaven. But Jesus invites you to make him your strength, your support. He will be to you a present help in every time of need. He will be to you as a shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land. Let it not be your great anxiety to succeed in this world, but let the burden of your soul be, How shall I secure the better world? what have I to do to be saved? ... Everlasting life is worth a lifelong, persevering, untiring efforts." (50)

- (45) *Ibm*, pp. 630, 631.
- (46) *Ibm*, p. 631.
- (47) White 1885a, p. 15.
- (48) White 1885a, p. 38.
- (49) *Ibm*, pp. 40, 41.
- (49a) *Ibm*
- (50) *Ibm*, pp. 48, 49.

EGW saw a direct relation between the way a man performed his daily work and the quality of his religion. A careless Adventist was, therefore, reproofed in plain English:

"You slight your work. You get through with it as you can, thinking that it will do, when it is not well done. You lack thoroughness. You should cultivate taste and order in all you do. That will be worth doing at all his worth doing well. If you lack faithfulness in your business life, you will lack in your religious life, and in the day of God the balances of the sanctuary will reveal the fact that you are wanting." (51)

A characteristic part in this testimony was EGW's reference to the "investigative judgement" in heaven.

The unsatisfactory products this Adventist brother manufactured were a real curse to the Church, EGW averred, and continued:

"As men prove your work and find it deficient in durability, nicety, and order, they say you are a cheat, and many hard speeches have been made over it. Many oaths have been uttered over your work, and God has been blasphemed." (52)

In EGW the striving for perfection in religion, included secular work. An Adventist was expected to perform his allotted duties in life cheerfully and well. This opinion was not unique in the American frontier society. Sociologists contend that the Adventist working-man still is inspired by the same attitude (53).

A great deal of the Testimonies expresses ethical rules that are generally accepted in society. A gossiping sister was severely reproofed; here it is of interest to notice how EGW tackled the problem. In order to win the heart of the talkative lady she mingled praise with reproof. We read:

"If she could control her own spirit, a great victory would be gained. If she would seek the heavenly adorning, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit... she would then be of a real help to the church. If she would cherish the spirit of Christ, and become a peacemaker, her own soul would be a blessing to the church wherever she might be located." (54)

The phrasing of this "testimony" shows that it was no typical, private letter, but rather an epistle to the whole Adventist community.

(51) Ibid, p. 83. Italics added.

(52) Ibid, pp. 83, 84. Emphasis supplied.

(53) Schwartz 1970, pp. 74, 116.

(54) White 1885a, p. 51.

There was no half-way work in EGW, as the last part of this communication reveals. EGW explained:

"Unless she is converted and an entire change is wrought in her, unless she educates herself to be slow to speak and slow to wrath, and cultivates true Christian courtesy, her influence will prove injurious, and the happiness of others connected with her will suffer. She manifests an independence which is a damage to her and alienates her friends. This independence has caused her much trouble and has wounded her best friends." (55)

If the "problem sister" should be restored to usefulness, she had to pay much more attention to her easily provoked temperament and to her way of dealing with people. As an experienced counsellor EGW concluded:

"The erring can be restored in no other way than in the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and tender love. Be careful in your manner. Avoid anything in look and gesture, word or tone, that savors of pride or self-sufficiency. Guard yourself against a word or look that would exalt yourself, or place your goodness and righteousness in contrast with their feelings... Above all, let there be no shadow of hate or ill will, no bitterness or sourness of expression. Nothing but kindness and gentleness can flow from a heart of love... Bear in mind that the success of reproof depends greatly upon the spirit in which it is given." (56)

In this testimony EGW alternatively addressed the whole church and the erring individual. If the sister accepted the public reprimand, she must have been of the Christian, humble type. EGW's pastoral works indeed merit to be examined in a separate study.

b. Ministerial Counselling

Before leaving this aspect of EGW as care-of-soul leader for her denomination, it is useful to make a succinct survey of her function as a kind of "pastor parvorum" in the SDA Church. As the Sabbatarian Adventists grew in power, its ministerial force also increased. The need of control and union among the ministers became urgent. In this field EGW filled an important role. The first leader to benefit from EGW's advice was her own husband. The "released" early documents demonstrate that the young EGW respected her senior husband, who also was her protégé, and from time to time she strengthened his position by her vision (57). James White likewise took care of EGW and especially during the critical shut door period

(55) Ibid, italics added.

(56) Ibid, pp. 52, 53.

(57) Canright 1919. Nichol 1951, pp. 112, 113.

and the subsequent upheavals he saved her from the attacks of the critics. James White was a somewhat choleric man and not infrequently he lived in tension with his brethren. As a wise woman EGW let him be the leader in the affairs of the Church and she did not interfere with the conservative, outward etiquette. When the couple attended church on Sabbath, however, James White and not EGW preached the sermon. Afterwards EGW addressed the congregation (58). Nevertheless, she played a role in church polity and had her own opinion about many things, but James White chaired the administrative meetings (59). With one exception EGW never belonged to any denominational board. She had free access to any board meeting, however, and her views were most often wanted, especially if she had any "light" to give (60). In the first place EGW shared a minister's specific problems in her own home together with her husband. EGW and her consort were normal human beings so far as their marital relations were concerned. Since they both were forceful personalities, tension was at times unavoidable. The traditional picture of the ever present sunny life in their marriage is not entirely factual. On the contrary, the tension between the mates, at least periodically, increased after James' serious illness, and this state continued until James' untimely death in 1881 (61). There were undoubtedly some reasons for this development. 1. After all it is not easy for a man to live with a woman, who is a prophet. But there are no clear indications to prove that the problems derived from the marital-sexual relations. For if due consideration is allotted to the conventions in the Victorian period, EGW lived as a normal woman and gave birth to four children (62). 2. The problem between the two leaders seems mainly to have been of a psychological kind. After his illness due to overwork, James White became more easily provoked and depressed; in fact, he was not used to seeing other men forming the policies. Since women generally are the stronger vessel, EGW's potentiality then increased, whereas James White lost initiative in certain periods after 1865. When the husband became too difficult to live with, EGW at times left him (63). The recently discovered Lucinda Hall collection of genuine EGW letters aptly supports this view (64).

When we look behind the veil of preserved correspondence, we are faced with a most dramatic presentation of the talented Whites as two ordinary human beings. A typical document for EGW's concern for her husband is the

- (58) Arthur L. White in *Spectrum*, Spring 1972, p. 20. EGW Diaries 1870-1877. WEA. Wash. D.C.
- (59) Cf. the General Conference Reports in the *Review*, 1874-1880.
- (60) She was a member on the Madison College in Nashville, Tennessee. M.C. was a practical work school, not least for Negroes.
- (61) J.W. died in Aug. 6, 1881.
- (62) Cf. *infra*, pp.
- (63) Arthur L. White in *Spectrum*, Spring 1972, p. 20. The Lucinda Hall coll. is "unreleased."
- (64) *Ibm*

famous health vision of June 6, 1863, which for some reasons belongs to the "unreleased" collections of EGW manuscripts. This writer, however, has studied the document in a generously paraphrased edition (65) where EGW reproves James White for his tendency to constantly review real or imagined injustices against his person. Very interestingly she warned him for this attitude, which was likely to weaken him still more and sap his vital forces making him an easy prey for the attacks of the devil. As was typical in EGW, she had an angel read to White, that he should remember what Jesus had taught his disciples to be willing to forgive men their sins and trespasses in order to be forgiven by God in their turn.

In the same vision, which dealt perhaps more with her own domestic problems than with health ideas at large, EGW reprimanded White for his tendency to have things done in his way. At the end of the 1863 vision EGW spoke faith to herself and her husband and pointed out that their work was far from done. EGW herself was recommended to give up some household duties to be able to devote more time to her special calling (66).

Another example of the relationship between the famous Adventist couple dates from the period of James White's illness. After Dr. Jackson, manager of "Our Home on the Hillside" in Dansville, New York, had failed to restore White to health, EGW nursed him back to vigour by practising some helpful empirical health ideas she devised for his recovery (66a). It was in this period that EGW wrote the much discussed Testimony of December 25, 1865, where she in no uncertain terms appealed to the Adventist constituency to sacrifice means immediately for the speedy erection of an Adventist health resort at Battle Creek. For some specific reasons, however, she soon revoked that Testimony and admitted that she had been wrong in yielding her judgment "to that of others" (67).

It had been contended that the only reason why she revoked this testimony was pressure from the side of her disable husband, who resented the action of the leaders (68). For at times James White's imperious will was of such magnitude, that even the prophet had to yield to his dictates.

- (65) White Letter 4, 1863. WEA. Washington D.C.
- (66) *Ibm*
- (66a) The chronicler, J.N. Loughborough, writes that the Adventists in Rochester arranged a three week season of prayer for the recovery of J.W. However, this effort did not help J.W. at that time. The remarkable result of the prayer was instead the death or the killing of no less than six persons, who took part in the services. Evidently L. interpreted this fatality as an attack of Satan. Cf. Loughborough 1892, pp. 270, 271.
- (67) White 1885, p. 563.
- (68) Cf. Nichol 1951, pp. 501-503. N. accepted the official presentation of report in the *Review* of May 25, 1869, as the correct presentation of the case.

But James and Ellen White both needed one another, and not least James had all reasons to be thankful for the excellent treatment his wife gave him, when the doctors failed. For in the difficult days after James White's break-down, EGW nursed him back to life and leadership as an expert care-of-soul counsellor (69).

For more than a decade after his "stroke", James White could again serve his beloved denomination. Between 1874-1880 he was President of the General Conference. After that period one gets the impression that the Adventist Church needed new men in the top administration. Unfortunately White did not feel so. Once more strong and in a position of power, he felt less dependent upon his wife. Preserved documents reveal that White was both a born leader and a talented denominational politician.

When James White had to give up the presidency in 1880, he felt uneasy at times and soon started to work for his re-election. Using the influence of the denominational press, as editor of the Review, he sometimes blew his own trumpet and criticized the Butler administration (70) for alleged non-democratic policies. On one occasion White complained:

"Those who use the simple system of organization adopted by our people to take the members of the body of Christ, whether ministers or people, out of the hand of the Master, and place them under the direction of the Conference Committee, are bringing into the body an element of great weakness, which will cripple and dwarf both ministers and people." (71)

Such effusions from the side of the foremost Adventist administrator were only natural after his own loss of power. In the summer of 1881 White was busy with his plans to reach the presidency again. Somewhat unrealistically he suggested that he and Canright form the top duo (72). In that connection he also reminded Canright of the elevated position of his prophet-wife. Canright could not expect any top post, until he had humbled himself before EGW, whom he had insulted. White explained:

"She is humble, and must be treated tenderly, or she can do nothing. Elders Butler and Haskell have had an influence over her that I hope see broken. It has nearly ruined her. These men must not be suffered by our people to do as they have done until all our ministers are fully discouraged. Young men are kept out of the ministry by their narrow blind counsel." (73)

(69) White 1885, pp.643-666.

(70) George I. Butler was President of the General Conference in 1881.

(71) RH, Apr.19, 1881, p.248.

(72) James White to Canright, May 24, 1881. Certified copy in the author's coll.

(73) IBM

Whatever influence Butler and Haskell may have exerted over EGW, it is most evident that James White could not control the prophet at least not at this time. For some reason, however, EGW could not support her husband's ambitions at this time. A reasonable ground for this decision may have been consideration of his health and the general good of the Adventist Church. The mature prophet often stands forth as a woman of good common sense.

EGW's role as a counsellor can also be exemplified by the dramatic relations between her and the editor-in-chief of the Review, Uriah Smith (74). At the early age of twenty-three Smith had joined the staff in the Adventist publishing house. Until the 1870s Uriah Smith and the Whites apparently had worked well together (75). Smith had developed his powers as a writer and had defended Adventism in articles and books (76). When criticism ran high against EGW, he had written an apology in 1868 (77). In the following year he was so worn out because of continuous toil that he had to leave the Review office for months on end (78).

The confrontations between the Smiths and the Whites commenced in earnest after James White's "church purge" at Battle Creek in 1870. Two years later EGW published a "personal" testimony to the Smiths to inform the whole denomination about the dangers the Smith family were facing according to her view (79). When we know that Uriah Smith had to leave the office for a considerable time in 1869, the present day reader finds it hard to understand with what reason she could blame Smith and Andrews for shunning responsibilities. In the same vision Mrs. Smith was reprimanded for being "a great hindrance to her husband." She had been unfaithful "in regard to the work of God and the truth for this time" (80).

(74) Uriah Smith (1832-1903) was connected with Sabbatarian Adventists from 1852.

(75) SDAE 1966, pp.1200,1201.

(76) His most read work, called for short Daniel and Revelation has exerted a tremendous impact on Adventist thinking and are still studied among members. Daniel and Revelation has also sold by the hundred of thousands to non-Adventist readers by colporteurs.

(77) Smith 1868.

(78) In 1870 J.W. had a thorough "purging" of the headquarters church. The aim of the reorganization was to give the Whites a better control over the church. One of the oldtimers, G.W. Amadon (1832-1913), has given the historian much valuable information in his diaries. Amadon Diary 1870-1873. AUA. The Heritage Room, Berrien Springs, Mich. Kellogg Interview 1907. Copy in the author's coll.

(79) White 1872.

(80) IBM, p.35.

The 1872 Testimony to Smith can be summed up under a few headings: 1. He had not defended James sufficiently in his controversy with the "unconsecrated" ones; 2. Mrs. Smith should have been trusted by the church in Battle Creek, when she had confessed "her errors" in 1870 (81). 3. Sister Smith had a "sensational temperament", however, and must be blamed for her husband's attitude toward the Whites.

In order to solve the problems with the Smiths, EGW made some definite recommendations, which if obeyed, would make Smith a "free man" and help him to shake off the "paralysing influence" in his home. As a means to reach the objectives, EGW recommended a strict application of "health reform" in the Smith family. She suggested:

"Their backsliding upon health reform and yielding to the temptations of Satan on the side of indulgence of appetite have injured both themselves and their children... The flesh of dead animals, fermenting and putrefying in the stomach, to be sent through every part of the system, is not pleasant to reflect upon, or to experience. It causes many wretched feelings, and is the greatest cause of fevers, suffering of every type, and of death... Bro. Smith and all men can be benefited by health reform. His habits are sedentary, and if he would have a clearer brain, he must be careful and regulate his diet." (82)

These settings echo the views of Sylvester Graham and J. H. Kellogg (83).

The lengthy printed Testimony to the Smiths also included some detailed criticism for their slack way of educating their children. EGW warned:

"Bro. and Sister Smith have a work before them to properly educate their children. They should call to mind the sin of Eli, and shun his example. ... Children that are educated to habits of self-denial and self-control, and are taught to be courteous, kind, and affectionate, will make an impression upon minds that nothing else can. ... Sister Smith's undue affection for her children, is selfish and idolatrous love, which makes her partial to her children, ... The little daughter has been gratified and indulged, until she is ruler in the home." (84)

In the first place one wonders why the prophet did not inform the family in private, instead of exposing them to such merciless criticism in public. But, for one thing, it may be correct to make some allowance for

(81) *Ibm*, p. 38.

(82) *Ibm*, pp. 41-44. Italics supplied.

(83) Uriah Smith had visited Dr. James C. Jackson's Dansville spa and knew what the ascetic regimen meant. Cf. *infra*, pp. 315ff.

(84) White 1872, pp. 45-46. Italics added.

the social conventions in a less polished age. In modern readers, however, such scolding Testimonies appear like small town gossip. It is of interest in this connection to refer to the outrageous scolding letters written by some of visionaries, such as St. Brigitte of Sweden (85).

But the Whites did not want to get rid of the Smiths; far from that. Their ambitions was only to get a more firm hold on the family. Especially Uriah Smith was an irreplaceable man for the publishing house. For EGW concluded:

"Satan has determined to cloud the precious gift of Bro. Smith by bringing his wife into a state of gloom and unbelief. Her depression falls like a pall of darkness upon him. Bro. Smith enjoys cheerfulness, confidence in the truth, and peace in God, when not depressed. Angels of God can impress his mind when he is consecrated to God, and clear truth will be reflected upon his mind to reflect upon other minds. Poetic inspiration has frequently been imparted to him by the ministration of angels. But Bro. Smith has so long been associated with blended gloom and dark unbelief that his natural freedom of spirit and exalted feelings expressed in elevated poetic language have almost gone out in darkness." (86)

It is hard not to feel sorry for Mrs. Smith, who for the sake of her despondency had extinguished Uriah's sunny disposition and poetic vein. At the same time one had better understand that many believers expected reproof from the prophet in harmony with the Scripture "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son he receiveth" (87).

(85) Stolpe 1973. S. called them "*skällebrev*."

(86) White 1872, pp. 49, 50. Italics supplied.

(87) In the same booklet J. N. Andrews, future pioneer to Europe, J. H. Waggoner, and M. E. Cornell were also reprimanded. White 1872, pp. 67-90. The interests of J. W. were considered in some of these testimonies. EGW explained:

"I was shown, Dec. 10, 1871, that Bro. Andrews is a strong man in some things, while in others he is weak. His desire to please his friends leads him to discommode himself, and make wrong moves, which have crippled his labors. ... Bro. Andrews made too much of Bro. Howard in the State of Maine. He estimated his abilities too highly, and gave him too much influence. Bro. and sister Hale of Maine, were also injured by receiving undue attention from Bro. Andrews. They became jealous of my husband, myself, and other brethren and sisters, because they did not receive as much attention from them. Bro. and sister Hale were a great trial to the church. They were most of the time on the contrary side, seldom in union with the church ... They were both independent, willful, set, and unyielding." - White 1872, pp. 67-69. Italics Added.

After the 1870-1873 crisis the Smiths seem to have been reconciled to the Whites and Uriah Smith filled many weighty positions as an editor and a writer as well as teacher in the young training college in Battle Creek. Things went smoothly, till the serious college troubles commenced in 1881-1882 (88). After the unexpected demise of James White, the leaders were having considerable problems to find suitable officials for the school. A fresh Adventist with Seventh Day Baptist background, Alexander McLearn, was then elected President of the school and tried to run the college as a "worldly" institution. It has been contended that he lowered the social standards by granting many dispensations from the rules. This led to a kind of revolt among both the college trustees, the faculty and the students. People took sides for or against McLearn and his foremost opponent on the faculty, the talented self-taught teacher, Goodloe Harper Bell, who was a firm disciplinarian (89). At this time Uriah Smith was chairman of the college board. In the college troubles he stood with the president against Bell and his supporters. Tired of the whole thing, Smith resigned from his post in the midst of those problems (90).

When matters had reached a dangerous point, EGW intervened. She was present in person at a board meeting in December 1881 and in March the next year she sent a straightforward Testimony to Smith for him to read to the whole Adventist congregation at the headquarters (91). This was not an unreasonable demand according to her judgment. After all Smith was one of the trusted leaders in Zion. But in this particular case the editor refused to read the message, and one readily understands why, for the testimony upbraided Smith in no uncertain settings. His attitude toward Bell was unacceptable, EGW remarked. A part of the EGW letter reads:

"Are you in Christ? Not if you do not acknowledge yourselves erring, helpless, condemned sinners. Not if you are exalting and glorifying self. If there is any good in you, it is wholly attributable to the mercy of a compassionate Saviour. Your birth, your reputation, your wealth, your talents, your virtues, your piety, your philanthropy, or anything else in your or connected with you, will not form a bond of union between your soul and Christ. Your connection with the church, the manner in which your brethren regard you, will be of no avail unless you believe in Christ. It is not enough to believe about him; you must believe in him. You must rely wholly upon his saving grace." (92)

(88) Vande Vere 1972, ch.5.

(89) Ibm

(90) Ibm

(91) Ibm, White 1889, Ibm 1948d, pp.21-36.

(92) White 1889, pp.48,49.

Then EGW went on to take Smith and others to task for their harsh treatment of Bell. Aiming at a reconciliation between the parties she remarked:

"I wish my position to be clearly understood. I have no sympathy with the course that has been pursued toward Brother Bell (93). The enemy has encouraged feelings of hatred in the hearts of many. The errors committed by him have been reported from one person to another, constantly growing in magnitude, as busy gossiping tongues added fuel to the fire. ... Some of these children (who criticized Bell) are a disgrace to the church and to the name of Adventists." (94)

These children may very well have been Smith's kids. In another setting he was called to the bar of reproof:

"Whatever may be Brother Bell's faults, your course is unjustifiable and unchristian. You have gone back over his history for years and have searched out everything that was unfavorable, every shadow of evil, and have made him an offender for a word. You have brought all the powers you could command to sustain yourselves in your course as accusers. Remember God will deal in the same manner with every one of you. ... Those who have taken part in this disgraceful proceeding will meet their work again." (95)

Few readers would deny the prophetic pathos in these settings. Her poise and courage to engage in these difficult problems become the more admirable, when we know that she had lost her husband a short time prior to the event. So engrossed was she in the college crisis that she brought the issue with her even in the dreams (96).

When Smith refused to co-operate with EGW she sent another letter to him, which later was printed as "The Testimonies Slighted" (97). This Testimony was more demanding. Her reaction as to Smith's attitude came into the open:

"Many excused their disregard of the testimonies by saying: 'Sister White is influenced by her husband; the testimonies are molded by his spirit and judgment.' Others were seeking to gain something from

(93) Goodloe Harper Bell (1832-1899). Though mainly an autodidact, B. became one of the founders of what is today Andrews University, Bertien Springs, Mich. B. was a firm disciplinarian and excelled as a drilling master of English grammar. Cf. Vande Vere 1972, pp.267-275.

(94) White 1889, p.51.

(95) Ibm, p.53. Italics supplied.

(96) Ibm, p.59.

(97) Ibm, p.62. The letter was dated Jun.20, 1882.

me which they could construe to justify their course or to give them influence. It was then that I decided that nothing more should go from my pen until the converting power of God was seen in the church. But the Lord placed the burden upon my soul." (98)

The quotation reveals how members valued the so called private Testimonies. Like Smith many Adventists drew the line between a "testimony" or a private letter from the prophet and the more prestigious presentations in the printed EGW books. But EGW could not accept this distinction. Therefore Smith and his supporters received a special warning. We read:

"... you are rebelling against God as certainly were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. You have their history. You know how stubborn they were in their opinions. They decided that their judgment was better than that of Moses. ... When I went to Colorado I was so burdened for you that, in my weakness, I arose at three o'clock in the morning to write to you. God was speaking through clay. You might say that this communication was only a letter. Yes, it was a letter, but prompted by the Spirit of God, to bring before your minds things that had been shown me. In these letters which I write, in the testimonies I bear, I am presenting to you that which the Lord has presented to me. I do not write one particle in the paper expressing merely my own ideas. They are what God has opened before me in vision - the precious rays of light shining from the throne." (99)

By this declaration EGW defended her integrity as prophet and enlarged the scope of writings to include all kinds of communications, also private letters to leaders, as the outflow from an infallible source.

By this time EGW had reached a position of authority which bordered on the absolute. To question her authority even in a "private" letter had become an abominable act. This meant rebellion against God or apostasy. The only remaining place for different opinions was found in interpretations of the Testimonies.

For this reason it is surprising that Uriah Smith could preserve his position in the Adventist denomination, when he at times rejected some views of EGW (1). Correspondence from 1883 reveal that Smith could be rather frank and independent in his attitude toward the "Spirit of Prophecy" (2). He questioned the 1874 EGW statements concerning her view of

(98) Ibid, pp.63,64. Italics supplied.

(99) Ibid, pp.66,67. Emphasis added.

(1) Olson 1966, ch.9.

(2) Smith to Canright, Mar.22, 1883. Apr.6, 1883. Certified copies in the author's coll.

the shut door problem and wanted to find a new interpretation of her work (3). Smith considered that there were degrees of inspiration in her writings. After the "enormous claims" that had been put forth for the Testimonies, he had lost a great deal of his former zeal to defend EGW as a genuine exponent for "Spiritual Gifts" in Christendom (4).

According to Smith the Adventist doctrines, which he claimed were founded upon the Bible, and not upon the EGW visions, would survive, even "if the visions would drop out entirely." Smith defended the Protestant sola Scriptura view and saw no need for "additional light" for doctrinal instruction (5). He informed Canright:

"The idea has been studiously instilled in the minds of the people that to question the visions in the least is to become at once, a hopeless apostate and rebel; and too many, I am sorry to say, have not strength of character enough to shake off such a conception; hence the moment anything is done to shake them on the visions they lose faith in everything and go to destruction." (6)

Thus Smith directly criticised EGW and her far-going claims.

But he did not want to see any chaos develop in the SDA Church on account of the visions; instead he would like to free the "gift" from the irritating difficulties (7). And this was not at all easy. The Church was governed in an authoritarian way and there were "many too doggedly bigoted and stubborn" (8). In fact Smith was an untimely harbinger of a more benign climate, where a lasting solution could be found to the peculiar Adventist dilemma: to accept the real, historically documented EGW, and how to retain her authority in the denomination without infringing upon the Protestant principle of "the Bible only" principle.

In connection with the important Minneapolis General Conference session in 1888, Smith came again under fire. As editor and defender of the old time Adventism he feared the new evangelical emphasis on sola fide as the only prerequisite for salvation. What then about the law and the Sabbath? So far as righteousness by faith was concerned the denomination had always taught that, he averred. The fact that two younger ministers presented a new approach to soteriology did not help him accept the program (9).

(3) Smith to Canright Apr.6, 1883.

(4) Ibid

(5) Ibid

(6) Ibid. Italics supplied.

(7) Ibid. Emphasis added.

(8) Ibid

(9) Olson 1966, chs.1-5. Cf. infra pp.

For several reasons he lost his influence at this time and was practically ousted from the top administration. But so was another old timer, George I. Butler. His absence, however, could be accounted for, since he suffered from ill health. After the Minneapolis Conference EGW and Dr. E.J. Waggoner (10), were running a kind of revival campaigns in the American Adventist churches (11).

Even Smith understood at last that he had been wrong in his feelings to certain individuals, and in particular he realized that somehow he must improve his relations to EGW, if he wanted to continue as a leader in Israel. EGW, who was well informed about Smith's repentant mind, sent him new Testimonies and encouraged him to make a genuine repentance (12). After considerable efforts from the side to EGW, Smith "confessed" that he had been wrong and had harmed both her and Bell (13). Much relieved, EGW could report in 1891 that "Brother Smith has fallen on the Rock, and is broken, ..." (14). It is true that the editor asked for forgiveness and undoubtedly meant it; his doctrinal position, however, was hardly affected by his confession (15).

Our examination of the dramatic relations between Smith and EGW reveals how much the ministry of EGW meant to the SDA Church. Her recommendations to individuals could not long be winked at. And no leader could flout her statements and remain in the full confidence of the church. As long as EGW lived she was like the hub in the SDA machinery of organization. Without a doubt EGW was a talented care-of-soul leader. Separate studies should be undertaken in this field. Her early experience in the Methodist Church laid the foundation. The many personal "testimonies" served as a disciplinary instrument; yes, at times even James White was reproved by the prophet (16). Such cases were rare, however, for more often than not she faithfully supported his policies.

All leaders cherished the messages from EGW and they tried to direct the affairs of the denomination in harmony with the instruction in the visions (17).

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- (10) W. was only 33 yrs. old in 1888. W. was both a physician and a minister; the education of doctors was not at all comparable to what it is today.
- (11) Olson 1966, chs. 6-7, 11-12.
- (12) Ibm, p. 93.
- (13) Olson 1966, ch. 9.
- (14) White to Pastor and Mrs. Washborn, Jan. 8, 1891. WEA. Wash. D.C. quoted in Olson 1966, pp. 93-96. S. "confessed" to a select group of SDA administrators in Jan. 7, 1891. Later he repeated the same confession to the whole congregation in Battle Creek.
- (15) Olson 1966, ch. 9.
- (16) Butler to Kellogg, May 27, 1904. MSU. Mich.
- (17) Butler to Kellogg, Mar. 7, 1906. MSU. Mich.

After the death of James White in 1881, EGW became more independent in her charismatic office, and no break happened in the function of the Testimonies. On the contrary the influence of EGW increased. Spurred on by the messages from the prophet, the SDA Church grew in inner stability and increased in size to establish its mission not only on the vast American continent, but also overseas. In this mission the EGW books became an important instrument.

Finally this writer cannot help making a special mention of the excellent books or ministerial manuals EGW has written (18). Gospel Workers is a real classic, where a deeply spiritual woman in a simple, but lucid style explains what it really means to be a pastor in the spirit of Jesus (19).

II. From Vision to Books

The first printed visions were characterized by a naive style, and the subject matter reflected what one would expect in a young mystic among the disappointed Millerites (1). Gradually the prophet developed into a different type of messenger, however, and the Conflict Series mark the production of the mature EGW. In fact the evolution is so great that it is somewhat surprising to know that the same person wrote the two kinds of books. Even the different stages in the same series show striking improvements in style and contents. In the final editions the reader may pursue whole chapters without observing anything reminding him of visions. How this remarkable development came about is an intriguing assignment for the serious historian.

The five volumes in the Conflict Series resulted from a complex process, where only some factors are known; other facts may be known, when the rich files in the Ellen G. White Estate are fully available to the researchers. No historian who is familiar with EGW's life doubts that she had visions. The impressive revelations prompted her to write. But she was not only a visionary; in addition to this gift she was markedly progressive and an avid book reader. Her private library contained hundreds of volumes (2), and only a fraction of the items have been listed. Moreover, she had a full staff of secretaries and editors at her disposal (3).

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- (18) White 1915, Ibm. 1923, Ibm. 1946
- (19) White 1915a, esp. sections I, IV, V, VII ff.
- (1) Cf. supra, ch. 3.
- (2) Copy of the remaining books in EGW's private library. In the author's coll.
- (3) Clarence C. Crisler (1877-1936) supplied EGW with much help in the production of her books after 1901, and e.g. Uriah Smith meant a great deal to her. Among the many secretaries can be mentioned Fanny Bolton and Marian Davis. Cf. Arthur L. White 1973, pp. 99-101. Ron Graybill in Spectrum, Summer, 1972.

EGW belonged to the rare group of authors, whose minds could visualize whole scenes in a tangible, concrete manner as moving pictures are shown on a screen (4). Moreover, she had an exceptionally good knowledge of the Scriptures and was so familiar with the Bible characters that she could converse with them as it were. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Lot or Jacob, Moses or Daniel and many others lived in her soul as close friends. She could "see" the patriarchs and prophets move and act their parts in a sacred drama. Her meditations on biblical subjects were then structured in visions. The lively presentations in the visions were complemented by rich portions of hand book information; in some works this material nearly formed the core of the presentation.

a. The Conflict Series

The Conflict Series began as an unpretentious 219 page book, called the Great Controversy. The first edition of this pocket size book appeared in 1858, several years before the central organization was completed. In the same year another religious author published a volume with the same title in Rochester, N.Y. (5). In order to remind the readers about the visionary character of the book, the editors called the series Spiritual Gifts. EGW willingly endorsed that claim. She declared in the introduction:

"First-day afternoon (i.e. on Sunday) there was to be a funeral at the school-house where our meetings were held. My husband was invited to give a discourse on the occasion... When he closed his remarks, I felt urged by the Spirit of the Lord to bear my testimony. As I was led to speak upon the coming of Christ and the resurrection and the cheering hope of the Christian... Heaven, sweet heaven, was the magnet to draw my soul upward, and I was wrapped in a vision of God's glory." (7)

This happened at Lovett's Grove, Ohio, some time in 1858 (8). Those who are familiar with the experiences of the mystics notice the typical upward line also in this vision.

The first draft of Great Controversy, which covered the whole sacred history from the entrance of sin in the universe to the final restoration, was eventually divided into five separate books to form the Conflict Series. The 1858 edition was marked by a simple, intimate sectarian

- (4) Pastor D.A. Delafield, associate Secretary in the EGW Estate, often uses this figure of speech for describing the psychological mechanism in the visions.
- (5) Hastings 1858.
- (6) White 1858.
- (7) White 1860, pp.265,266.
- (8) Ibid

tone to suit the needs of the few members, then numbering less than three thousand. Terms which were familiar only to Sabbatarian Adventists were used in several cases and the delineation was of the literalist kind. The vision took the readers directly into medias res. The story began thus:

"The Lord has shown me that Satan was once an honored angel in heaven, next to Jesus Christ. His countenance was mild, expressive of happiness like the other angels. His forehead was high and broad, and showed great intelligence. His form was perfect. He had a noble, majestic bearing. And I saw that when God said to his Son, Let us make man in our image, Satan was jealous of Jesus." (9)

Already in the first sketch EGW included some extra Biblical information from the invisible world. This feature was significant in EGW and in fact was her *raison d'être* as a visionary writer. Some Adventist writers have defined this enlargement to the canonical books as "Scriptural augmentation" (10). Those presentations are appreciated by some readers, whereas critical Protestant readers may take offense at the additions they consider to be fanciful. A typical incident of Scriptural augmentation referred to some details in connection with the fall of Satan. EGW contended:

"After Satan was shut out of heaven, with those who fell with him, he realized that he had lost all the purity and glory of heaven forever. Then he repented and wished to be reinstated again in heaven. He was willing to take his proper place, or any place that might be assigned to him. But no, heaven must not be placed in jeopardy." (11)

In connection with the revision and enlargement of the book in 1870, EGW had more information as to the mysterious problem of the origin of evil. In the great drama of the ages the two main combatants for good and evil, Christ and Satan met face to face, after Lucifer's expulsion from heaven. A description of Satan's repentance was now included. EGW went on:

"Satan trembled as he viewed his work. He was alone in meditation upon the past, the present, and his future plans. His mighty frame shook as with a tempest. An angel from heaven was passing. He (Satan) called him, and entreated an interview with Christ. This was granted him. He then related to the Son of God that he repented of his rebellion, and wished again the favor of God. He was willing to take the place God had previously assigned him, and be under his wise command. Christ wept at Satan's woe, but told him, as the mind of God, that he could never be received into Heaven." (12)

- (9) White 1858, p.17. Italics supplied.
- (10) Milton Hook in Ministry, Aug.1970, pp.3-5.
- (11) White 1858, p.19. Italics added.
- (12) White 1870, p.29. Emphasis supplied.

This remarkable narrative, which is unknown to Bible readers, contains some similarities with the cogitations in the Book of Job, where Jahve and his angels held consultations with Lucifer in heaven. This visionary scene was omitted in the 1890 revision, when the first part of *Great Controversy* was printed as a separate volume, *Patriarchs and Prophets*.

EGW's description of the fall of Adam and Eve partially followed John Milton's classic, *Paradise Lost*. A few quotations suffice to demonstrate some striking similarities. EGW described the famous episode thus:

"Like the angels, the dwellers in Eden had been placed upon probation; their happy estate could be retained only on condition of fidelity to the Creator's law. They could obey and live, or disobey and perish. ... The angels warned them to be on their guard against the devices of Satan; for his efforts to ensnare them would be unwearied. ... In order to accomplish his work unperceived, Satan chose to employ as his medium the serpent - disguise well adapted for his purpose of deception. The serpent was one of the wisest and most beautiful creatures on the earth. It had wings, and while flying through the air presented an appearance of dazzling brightness, having the color and brilliancy of burnished gold. ... Thus in the garden of peace lurked the destroyer, watching for his prey.

The angels had cautioned Eve to beware of separating from her husband while occupied in their daily labor in the garden. ... An expression of sadness came over the face of Adam. To the words of Eve he replied that this must be the foe against whom they had been warned;" (13)

EGW was selective in her use of *Paradise Lost*. The magnificent scenes of beauty, where Milton delineated the sensual happiness of the holy pair she left out, which was natural in a Victorian holiness writer.

As can be seen from the extract of *Patriarchs and Prophets*, the 1890 version was much superior in style to the 1858 edition. Her own development, and the assistance of capable secretaries and editors made this improvement possible. The important matter of the co-operation between EGW and her helpers cannot be finally treated, however, until the book manuscripts be made available.

Patriarchs and Prophets turned out to be a best seller in the realm of Old Testament classics. Since EGW interpreted the Old Testament in a Christological-fundamentalist way, many non-Adventist Christians could read the work with satisfaction. Her comments on the

(13) White 1890, pp.53-56. Italics added.

sacrifice of Abraham aptly illustrates this method of reading the Old Testament. EGW instructed:

"It was to impress Abraham's mind with the reality of the gospel, as well as to test his faith, that God commanded him to slay his son. The agony which he endured during the dark days of that fearful trial, was permitted that he might understand from his own experience something of the greatness of the sacrifice made by the infinite God for man's redemption." (14)

In many places EGW was a conventional Victorian devotional writer. A separate study would at least be required to compare her ideas with other much read Victorian devotionals (15). Despite the cases of literary indebtedness, EGW generally reshaped her sources to suit her intention and personal style.

Patriarchs and Prophets contain several chapters where she reasoned as an Adventist minister in the biblical exegesis. For those parts no visions were needed (16). The chapter called, "In the Wilderness" is only one of many in this group (17). The whole chapter was included mainly to discuss Sabbath keeping. But in other chapters "additional light", or the visionary quality came in to the open. Her description of the last days of Moses belongs to this category. We quote:

And now a panoramic view of the land of promise was presented to him. Every part of the country was spread before him, not faint and uncertain in the dim distance, but standing out clear, distinct, and beautiful to his delighted vision. ... He seemed to be looking upon a second Eden. There were mountains clothed with the cedars of Lebanon, hills gray with olives and fragrant with the odor of the vine, wide green plains bright with flowers and rich in fruitfulness, here the palm-trees of the tropics, there waving fields of wheat and barley, sunny valleys musical with the ripple of brooks and the song of birds, goodly cities and fair gardens, lakes rich in "the abundance of the seas", grazing flocks upon the hillsides, and amid the rocks the wild bee's hoarded treasures. ...". (17a)

EGW, a modern prophet, takes the position of the famous Old Testament prophet and scans the Promised Land, the new Eden. She goes on to depict how Moses in vision saw the drama of ages until the end of time.

(14) *Ibm*, p.154. Italics added.

(15) Young Adventist historians are very interested in finding out to what extent EGW used other sources for her writings. *Spectrum*, Autumn 1970, *Ibm*, 1971.

(16) White 1890, chs. 30-36.

(17) *Ibm*, ch. 36.

(17a) *Ibm*, pp.472-474.

We read:

"He was permitted to look down the stream of time, and behold the first advent of our Saviour. He saw Jesus as a babe in Bethlehem. ... He beheld Christ's humble life in Nazareth, his ministry of love and sympathy and healing, his rejection by a proud, unbelieving nation. ... He followed the Saviour to Gethsemane, and beheld the agony in the garden, the betrayal, the mockery and scourging, - the crucifixion. Moses saw that as he had lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so the Son of God must be lifted up, ... He heard Christ's agonizing cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" ... And now another scene passed before him. He had been shown the work of Satan in leading the Jews to reject Christ, while they professed to honor his Father's law. He now saw the Christian world under a similar deception in professing to accept Christ while they rejected God's law. ... He saw the Sabbath trodden under foot, and a spurious institution (i. e. Sunday keeping) established in its place. Again Moses was filled with astonishment and horror. How could those who believed in Christ reject the law spoken by his own voice upon the sacred mountain? ... With joy Moses saw the law of God still honored by a faithful few. He saw the last great struggle of earthly powers to destroy those who keep God's law. ... He heard God's covenant of peace with those who have kept his law, as he utters his voice from his holy habitations, and the heavens and the earth do shake. He saw the second coming in glory, the righteous dead raised to immortal life, and the living saints translated without seeing death, and together ascending with songs of gladness to the city of God." (18)

By such teaching EGW looked upon the Old and the New Testaments as an insoluble unit, and no sharp limit was drawn between the dispensations.

EGW's best known book, apart from her evangelical best seller, *Steps to Christ* (19), is undoubtedly *Desire of Ages*, her great "Life" of the Saviour (20). This book had a long development and saw many stages. The embryo of *Desire of Ages* was a short passage in the 1858 *Great Controversy* (21). When EGW revised the early

(18) *Ibm*, pp. 472-477. Italics added.

(19) *Steps to Christ* is probably the most "evangelical" book in EGW's whole production.

(20) White 1898.

(21) White 1858, pp. 28-37.

sketch and made it an independent book, she entered into a much common genre of Victorian devotionals (22).

The final revision took place in Australia, where she stayed for nine years between 1891-1900. It is therefore not exactly correct to claim that *Desire of Ages* was written in that decade. Instead this happened: everything of value EGW had written on the theme was brought together for a final "sifting"; the principal sources to *Desire of Ages* were volumes two and three in EGW's second stage of the *Conflict Series*, called *Spirit of Prophecy* (23) and eight pamphlets in the *Redemption series*, published in 1874-1878 (24). Thus there was an abundance of material to draw from. In remote Australia EGW had time to meditate and think and had good language specialists at her disposal (25).

It is rewarding to compare the 1877 *Life* with the more polished product in 1898. Volume two of the *Spirit of Prophecy Series* was on the whole informal and not too well planned. Background descriptions lacked exactness and the hand books had not yet been adequately consulted. To mention only one typical thing in the 1877 version, Phariseism and the Jewish religion were presented as a worthless round of "traditions, customs, and needless ceremonies", which had "originated from no higher source than man" (26). The 1877 book also contained the typical evangelistic appeals (27).

b. *Desire of Ages* - EGW's Famous "Life" of Jesus

In *Desire of Ages* the previously assigned plan was retained for several sections, but many titles were changed. The *Spirit of Prophecy series* was produced to serve Adventist readers, but *Desire of Ages* was intended for a much broader spectrum of readers. It contains a three chapter introduction (28). Right from the beginning EGW disclosed the lofty theme of the book. She instructed:

"By coming to dwell with us, Jesus was to reveal God both to men and to angels. He was the Word of God. - God's thought made audible. ... Our little world is the lesson book of the universe. God's wonderful purpose of grace, the mystery of redeeming love, is the theme into which 'angels desire to look', and it will be their study through-

(22) The theological seminaries are filled with such "Lives".

(23) White 1877. *Ibm*. 1878.

(24) White 1874-1878a.

(25) Arthur L. White 1973, pp. 99-101. Marian Davis was EGW's "book-maker." Cf. Robert W. Olson in the *Ministry*, Dec. 1975, pp. 14f.

(26) White 1877, p. 12.

(27) *Ibm*, p. 29.

(28) White 1898, pp. 19-38.

out endless ages. Both the redeemed and unfallen beings will find in the cross of Christ their science and their song." (29)

Somewhat further down in the same chapter, EGW expressed some classical sayings, the origin of which ought to be further ascertained. We quote:

"Christ was treated as we deserve, that we might be treated as He deserves. He was condemned for our sins, in which He had no share, that we might be justified by His righteousness, in which we had no share. He suffered the death which was ours, that we might receive the life which was His." (30)

One soon notices that the prose in *Desire of Ages* is far from spontaneous and informal. The book is in several places a specimen of elaborated Victorian prose. However, *Desire of Ages* was written without due consideration to historico-critical scholarship. Narratives were taken from all four Gospels without any consistent plan. The duration of the ministry of Jesus was set at three and a half years or mainly according to the chronology in St. John. The main objective of the work was to inspire the readers to live as Christians.

In *Desire of Ages* EGW drew basic information from factual books. Indeed, she even relied upon information from Apocrypha and old Catholic tradition for some chapters. Thus she followed the old Catholic idea from the Protevangelion and contended that Mary's husband, Joseph, was an old man, who died early after the birth of Jesus. Likewise she criticized the "sons of Joseph" or Jesus' cousins (31). The contention that the star over the manger in Bethlehem actually was a cluster of angels finds direct support in some apocryphal books within easy reach (32). *Desire of Ages* devotes two chapters to the narrative of how the young Jesus spent his time prior to his baptism and public ministry. With the help of her "Scriptural augmentation" we learn that Jesus was well known in Nazareth by his benevolent life. Poor and distressed people were relieved of their sufferings. Young Jesus often abstained from a meal to place it in the hands of a hungry man (33).

In his own home Jesus was beset by continuous strife. The "sons of Joseph" and his daughters oppressed the Saviour and argued with him to accept the "rigid" regulations of the rabbis and the Pharisees. His "brothers" did not miss one opportunity to make his life miserable (34). At times even Mary wavered in her allegiance to Jesus and sided with the rabbis.

(29) Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

(30) Ibid., p. 30.

(31) White 1898, ch. 9.

(32) Ibid., p. 60. The Apocryphal New Testament, 1820, p. 40.

(33) White 1898, p. 87.

(34) Ibid., pp. 86-88.

One of the extra-canonical parts reads:

"Mary often remonstrated with Jesus, and urged Him to conform to the usages of the rabbis. But He could not be persuaded to change His habits of contemplating the works of God and seeking to alleviate the suffering of men and even of dumb animals. When the priests and teachers requited Mary's aid in controlling Jesus, she was greatly troubled; but peace came to her heart as He presented the statements of Scripture upholding His practices." (35)

Even in the final revision of her *Life* she gave an overpessimistic view of the teachings of the rabbis (36).

EGW described the "silent years" in Jesus' ministry as full of life and acts of miracle. Although he lived in open conflict with the rabbis, Jesus "often" read the set texts from the Old Testament in the synagogue. A typical paragraph reads:

"Jesus was the healer of the body as well as for the soul. He was interested in every phase of suffering that came under His notice, and to every sufferer He brought relief, His kind words having a soothing balm. None could say that He worked a miracle; but virtue - the healing power of love - went out from Him to the sick and distressed. Thus in an unobtrusive way He worked for the people from His very childhood. This is why, after His public ministry began, so many heard Him gladly." (37)

There are apparent contradictions in the text, which show that EGW was facing a dilemma, when she in her own augmentation to the Gospels added information that did not agree with the canonical narratives. The miracles EGW mentioned are unknown to the writers of the Gospels, where we learn that Jesus did not perform many miracles in Nazareth (38). It is of some interest to know that the chapters about the childhood and youth of Jesus were omitted in certain translations of *Desire of Ages* (39).

For her narrative of the women who followed Jesus EGW relied on a Catholic tradition and contended that Mary from Bethany was identical with Mary from Magdala, the prostitute, whom Jesus had healed (40). The Gospels do not support this view.

(35) Ibid., p. 90.

(36) White 1898, chs. 66, 67.

(37) Ibid., p. 92. Emphasis added.

(38) Mk. 6, 1-6.

(39) So the Swedish ed. "Tidsaldrarnas Längtan"

(40) White 1898, pp. 525, 559, 560, 564, 565, 788, 790, 793.

The well-known parable of the Good Samaritan is no parable at all; she claimed that it was a real event (41).

Frequently the "additional light" adds colours to the descriptions, which may be demonstrated e.g. by one example from the passion week. EGW describes the feelings of Pilate's wife on the fateful day:

"In answer to Christ's prayer, the wife of Pilate had been visited by an angel from heaven, and in a dream she had beheld the Saviour and conversed with Him. ... She knew Him to be the Prince of God. She saw Him on trial in the judgment hall. She saw the hands tightly bound as the hands of a criminal. ... She saw Pilate give Jesus to the scourging, after he had declared, "I find no fault in Him". She heard the condemnation pronounced by Pilate, and saw him give Christ up to His murderers. She saw the cross uplifted on Calvary. She saw the earth wrapped in darkness, and heard the mysterious cry, "It is finished". Still another scene met her gaze. She saw Christ seated upon the great white cloud, while the earth reeled in space, and His murderers fled from the presence of His glory. With a cry of horror she awoke, and at once wrote to Pilate words of warning." (42)

There rests a deeply spiritual, contemplative spirit over *Desire of Ages*. There are glimpses of a mild illumination not of this world. EGW preserved a strong feeling for the value of meditation, a tradition which can be traced back to the Middle Ages through her Methodism tradition. She remarked:

"It would be well for us to spend a thoughtful hour each day in contemplation of the life of Christ. We should take it point by point, and let the imagination grasp each scene, especially the closing ones. As we thus dwell upon His great sacrifice for us, our confidence in Him will be more constant our love will be quickened, and we shall be more deeply imbued with His Spirit." (43)

While revising her *Life*, EGW keenly felt how inadequate her words were for picturing adequately her story of the Saviour. Overawed by the assignment, she declared:

"This week I have been enabled to commence writing on the life of Christ. O, how inefficient, how incapable I am of ex-

(41) We read: "This was no imaginary scene, but an actual occurrence, which was known to be exactly as represented. The priest and the Levite who had passed by on the other side were in company that listened to Christ's words." White 1898, p. 499.

(42) *Ibm*, p. 732.

(43) *Ibm*, p. 83. Emphasis supplied.

pressing the things which burn in my soul in reference to the mission of Christ. I have hardly dared to enter upon the work. ... I lie awake nights pleading with the Lord for the Holy Spirit to come upon me, to abide upon me. ... I walk with trembling before God. I know not how to speak or trace with pen the large subjects in the living power they stand before me. I tremble for fear, lest I shall belittle the great plan of salvation by cheap words." (44)

If EGW had achieved nothing else than write *Desire of Ages* she would still merit a place among the outstanding Christian women. Her *Life* provides spiritual food for Christians in all walks of life (45).

c. Great Controversy

The *Conflict Series* was completed with the 1911 edition of the *Great Controversy*. In its final shape *Great Controversy* has seen many editions and has circulated in millions of copies in more than 70 languages (46). Since the popular work is of great importance for a correct understanding of Adventist eschatology and other important doctrines a somewhat detailed analysis of the book will be given. And in particular, the rich use of non-visionary sources will be examined, because in *Great Controversy* vision concepts are mixed with historical interpretations by some well-known Protestant writers.

Originally the book consisted of 116 pages in the 1858 *Great Controversy*. The heavy America orientation is evident from the beginning. In the short sketch only 20 per cent dealt with the period before Miller; more than fifty per cent was reserved for events in EGW's own lifetime. A general principle in her story centered around the falling-away theory in the discussion of ecclesiastical history. As a tangible result of the "great apostasy" from the originally "pure Church" appeared the Roman-Catholic Church (47). However, there has always existed a "remnant" of Bible Christians outside the "fallen" established churches, she contended. The restoration began in earnest with Luther and the reformers of the sixteenth century. It is the holy calling of the Remnant Church, mainly the SDA denomination, to gather the "honest" believers from all religions into the fold of Christ and so achieve the final restoration to be accomplished prior to the Second Coming.

(44) *White Letter* 40, 1892, as quoted in Jemison 1955, pp. 311, 312. Italics added.

(45) If the English text was modernized, as has been the case with the Bible, more young people might read *Desire of Ages*.

(46) In all, more than 220.000 copies have been sold in Scandinavia, and 50.000 copies in Finland only, after 1965.

(47) *White* 1911, ch. 3.

A significant incident, especially in the early editions of *Great Controversy*, is its emphasis on 1844 and the problems connected with the Great Disappointment. This plan was natural in EGW, who had experienced the crucial transition period, until Sabbatarian Adventism had found a firm foundation for its existence in the 1860s. For EGW Miller was a key person in the history of the Church. She also defended his apocalyptic system wholeheartedly and endorsed even the time calculations. Adventism according to *Great Controversy* stands or falls with Miller. In the early sketch she remarked about the time failures of 1843 and 1844:

"I saw the people of God, joyful in expectation, looking for their Lord. But God designed to prove them. His hand covered a mistake in the prophetic periods (Miller at first concentrated on 1843 and not on 1844) ... God designed that his people should meet with a disappointment." (48)

In such language EGW defended the time calculations, which brought great suffering to the Millerites. The different time calculations were also an instrument to sift and refine the remnant (49). Ultimate bliss depended upon the position people took in reference to 1844 (50). EGW must be praised by historians for her determined interpretation of the intimate connection between Miller's movement and her own denomination. A major problem in EGW's evaluation of Miller, however, was his rejection of Shut Door and her own visions. She solved this dilemma by blaming Miller's associates for this position (51).

A characteristic feature in the 1858 edition was, moreover, its heavy emphasis on the Adventist "specifics", such as the Sabbath, the concept of the atonement in heaven 1844 and similar themes. The following paragraphs were typical for these ideas:

"I saw that the nominal churches (52), as the Jews crucified Jesus, had crucified these messages, and therefore they have no knowledge of the move made in heaven, ... and they cannot be benefited by the intercession of Jesus there." (53)

With "the move made in heaven" EGW and the Adventists understood the transfer of office from the so called Holy Place in heaven to the Most Holy Place, held for a short time after 1844 by the shut door group connected with Snow's October time. Christians could not count on a heavenly re-

(48) White 1858, p. 137. Emphasis added.

(49) *Ibm*, p. 139, 140.

(50) *Ibm*, p. 139.

(51) *Ibm*, p. 167.

(52) The term has a very wide connotation, for in EGW it refers to all sorts of established churches and denominations.

(53) White 1858, p. 171. Italics supplied.

ward, if they rejected the concept of this "move" of Christ's office in the heavenly sanctuary.

EGW saw only counterfeit movements and Satanic delusions in the many revival movements in America, immediately before the Civil War. She continued:

"Like the Jews, offered their useless sacrifices, they offer up their useless prayers to the apartment which Jesus left, and Satan, pleased with the deception of the professed followers of Christ, fastens them in his snare, and assumes a religious character, and leads the minds of these professed christians (sic) to himself, and works with his power, his signs and lying wonders." (54)

This description of the competing Evangelicals was penned in 1858, which is inscribed in American ecclesiastical history as the "Annus Mirabilis." In that year a remarkable inter-church revival swept over America from New York to every city in the North by means of daily inter-denominational prayer meetings (55). Jonathan Butler, an Adventist historian, has made the observation, that the SDA Church saw its most dangerous rivals not in the unpopular Roman-Catholic Church, but in the common revival groups in the East and in the West (56).

Although the Sabbatarian Adventists were an unorganized movement, numbering perhaps less than three thousand adherents in 1858, EGW taught that this remnant only was the true visible church on earth. Satan knew this, she averred, and accordingly he laid his special traps for the Sabbatarian Adventists (57).

And some other typically American issues were discussed in the early draft of the *Great Controversy*. Nobody could avoid taking sides in the heated topic of slavery. EGW expressed abolitionist sentiments of the non-Garrisonian type - a view which was fairly common in the North. She remarked:

"I saw that the slave master would have to answer for the soul of his slave whom he had kept in ignorance; and all the sins of the slave will be visited upon the master. God cannot take the slave to heaven, who has been kept in ignorance and degradation, ... But he does the best thing for him that a compassionate God can do. He lets him be as though he had not been; while the master has to suffer the seven last plagues, and come up in the second resurrection, and suffer the second awful death." (58)

(54) *Ibm*, pp. 171, 172. Italics added.

(55) Timothy Smith 1957, pp. 63-79.

(56) RA 1974.

(57) White 1858, p. 179. Italics supplied.

(58) *Ibm*, p. 193. Emphasis added.

In another vision EGW saw "the pious slave rise in triumph and victory" to shake off his chains at the glorious Epiphania of Jesus (59). Students of Adventist history know that in 1858 EGW and many of the other leaders despaired of any emancipation of the negro in America, until the parousia. When the Civil War was raging they saw in it the beginning of Armagedon (60).

The heavily provincial preoccupation in the 1858 draft was made less evident in the 1884, 1885, 1888 and 1911 editions of *Great Controversy*. A prolific use of popular Protestant histories made this enlargement possible (61).

A vital concept in this delineation lay in her concept of the Ecclesia. The Apostolic Church emerged as the ideal type for all subsequent periods. With the emergence of the universal medieval Catholic church the true remnant went underground and remained "a church in the wilderness", until the appearance of the significant revival movements in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The full realization of the ideal church was

(59) White 1858, p.206. Cf. WLF 1847, p.20.

(60) White 1885, pp.253-260. In 1862 EGW remarked:

"When England does declare war, all nations will have an interest of their own to serve, and there will be general war, general confusion."

She also added that "other nations were engaged in this war."

White 1885, p.268. Italics supplied.

James White was of the same view. Cf. RH, Aug.12,1862, p.134.

EGW expected "another rebellion" to take place after the end of the civil war to be fought again over the slavery question. Cf. White 1885, p.255. She definitely predicted that the United States would "yet be humbled into the dust." *Ibm*, p.259.

An examination of EGW's Civil War visions shows that her views were almost identical with those of Smith's, which were written slightly before EGW's *Testimony*. Cf. RH, Nov.12, 1861. A research worker in the Ellen G. White Estate, Ronald Graybill, has shown that EGW relied on Uriah Smith for historical documentation for *Great Controversy*. Cf. *Spectrum*, Summer 1972. Pastor D.T. Bourdeau, a French-American Adventist pioneer minister in the United States commented on his understanding of EGW's Civil War predictions. He wrote:

"The United States never were as proud as they now are; and from the word of the Lord we may expect that they will yet be humbled in the dust;... we expect foreign intervention, not very far hence,..." RH, Feb.26, 1867, p.129.

The quotation echoed almost literally a key phrase in EGW's Civil War prophecy, which failed.

(61) Cf. White 1884, *Ibm*. 1888, *Ibm*. 1911.

not completed until the appearance of the SDA Church. In the "Dark Ages" the visible Ecclesia was found in sect movements, such as the Albigeneses, the Waldenses, the Hutterites, and the Lollards (62). EGW shared that view with all radical Protestants.

With the appearance of the great Continental Reformation in the 16th century EGW's understanding of the "true church" shifted, however, from the sects to the new Protestant Churches. Zwingli, Calvin, and in particular Martin Luther were men of God. Even the Baptist groups in the nowadays much appreciated "Radical Reformation" were denounced as disturbers of the peace. She did so, although the so called Anabaptists must be considered the parent groups of all subsequent free churches of the Baptist persuasion. Dr. Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, who even realed Sabatarian leanings was addressed thus:

"The fanatical party, by falsely claiming to have been treated with great injustice, succeeded in gaining the sympathies of a large class of people, and as is often the case with those who take the wrong side, they came to be regarded as martyrs. Thus the ones who were exerting every energy in opposing of the Reformation, were pitied and lauded as the victims and cruelty and oppression. This was the work of Satan, prompted by the same spirit of rebellion which was first manifested in heaven."

(63)

But in contrast Luther was hailed as a hero:

"Foremost among those who were called to lead the church from the darkness of popery into the light of a purer faith, stood Martin Luther. Zealous, ardent, and devoted, knowing no fear but the fear of God, and acknowledging no foundation for religious faith but the Holy Scriptures, Luther was the man for his time; through him God accomplished a great work for the reformation of the church and the enlightenment of the world." (64)

More remarkable still was perhaps her unrestrained praise of Melancthon's famous *Confessio Augustana*. She continued:

One of the noblest testimonies ever uttered for the Reformation was the Protest offered by the Christian (sic) princes of Germany at the Diet of Spires in 1529. The courage,

(62) EGW considered these groups to be Evangelical Christians, and in particular she liked the Waldenses, among whom some kept the (Saturday) Sabbath, she claimed. White 1911, pp.61-78, 271, 577. But cf. Grundmann 1961, pp.118, 442-451. Jeffrey Russell in *Mediaeval Studies*, XXV, 1963, pp.28-32. Leff 1967, *passim*.

(63) White 1911, p.192.

(64) *Ibm*, p.120. Italics added.

faith, and firmness of those men of God gained for succeeding ages liberty of thought and conscience. ... The confession of their faith was read. In that august assembly the truths of the Gospel were clearly set forth, and the errors of the papal church were pointed out. Well has that day been pronounced "the greatest day of the Reformation, and one of the most glorious in the history of Christianity and of mankind." (65)

We must at least ask the question, as to whether EGW ever studied the contents of *Confessio Augustana*, where Sabbatarians were branded as grave heretics (66). Most likely EGW herself had never had an opportunity of studying European reformation history adequately to understand its real character; she was captivated by her historical auctores, by D'Aubigné and others to the point that she at least partially voiced their views.

There is also another side to this dilemma. EGW had gradually acquired the middle class ideals and defended the bourgeoisie-liberal-democratic view of the German Reformation with its emphasis on a stable, well-structured society. American democratic ideas were read into the Continental Reformation. We quote:

"The protesters (at Spire) had moreover affirmed their right to utter freely their right to utter freely their convictions of truth. They would not only believe and obey, but teach what the word of God presents, and they denied the right of priest or magistrate to interfere. This Protest of Spire was a solemn witness against religious intolerance, and assertion of the right of all men to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences." (67)

But here EGW somewhat misunderstood the decision at Spire in 1529. What happened there was, of course, a reconfirmation of the idea of territorial rights for the Catholics and the Lutherans only to worship God according to their rituals, in accordance with the saying "*cuius regio eius religio*."

But neither Catholics nor Lutherans gave any freedom to the radicals. On the contrary the consistent "Bible Christians", the Anabaptist groups, the spiritual ancestors of all Adventist groups were persecuted and murdered also by the reformers (68).

(65) *Ibm*, pp. 197, 207. Emphasis supplied.

(66) *Confessio Augustana*, art. 28:57, in Leif Grane's Danish ed.

(67) White 1911, p. 204. Italics supplied.

(68) Bainton 1963, pp. 95-109.

Calvin and his important wing of the reformation history received a slender treatment in *Great Controversy*, especially in comparison with the space allotted to Zwingli (69). The important theocracy in Geneva is hardly dealt with. The bellicose spirit in the French reformers EGW condoned, considering the circumstances. When no other expedient remained for the faithful, warfare was blessed by God in those struggles against Rome. She commented:

"... under God's blessing and the labors of those noble men whom He had raised up to succeed Luther, Protestantism was not overthrown. Not to the favor of arms of princes was it to owe its strength. The smallest countries, the humblest and least powerful nations, became its strongholds. It was little Geneva in the midst of mighty foes plotting her destruction; it was Holland on her sand-banks by the northern sea, wrestling against the tyranny of Spain, then the greatest and most opulent of kingdoms; it was bleak and sterile Sweden, (sic!) that gained victories for the Reformation." (70)

True to her Puritan-Millerite tradition, EGW stood a poor chance of rendering an impartial presentation of the Roman-Catholic Church. Like many other Evangelicals she interpreted "Romanism" as the stronghold of apostasy. The rise of the medieval church system was described in this way:

"This compromise between paganism and Christianity resulted in the development of "the man of sin" foretold in prophecy as opposing and exalting himself above God. That gigantic system of false religion as a masterpiece of Satan's power, - a monument of his efforts to seat himself upon the throne to rule the earth according to his will. ... To secure worldly gains and honors, the church was led to seek the favour and support of the great men of earth; and having rejected Christ, she was induced to yield allegiance of the representative of Satan - the bishop of Rome." (71)

EGW saw a special reason for her rejection of the papacy because of its support of the Sunday rest. This time she wanted to challenge the Evangelicals. She taught:

"Protestants now urge that the resurrection of Christ made it the Christian Sabbath. But Scripture evidence is lacking. No such honor was given to the day by Christ and His apostles. ... Where and when did the Lord adopt this child of the papacy?" (72)

(69) White 1911, pp. 171-184, 211-236.

(70) *Ibm*, p. 236.

(71) *Ibm*, p. 50. Emphasis added.

(72) *Ibm*, p. 54. Emphasis supplied.

By attacking the Catholics, she could count on support from a large section of Protestant America. When *Great Controversy* was published Catholicism was considered a foreign institution in the United States and a threat to its free, democratic institutions (73). The ill-will or open hatred of Rome was in fact strengthened in the 80s and 90s, when large groups of immigrants from predominantly Catholic countries were pouring into North America (74). In those years P. T. Chiniquy's *Fifty Years in the Roman-Catholic Church* saw numerous editions (75).

Writing in the same vein EGW was rather unsparing in her criticism of Rome and accused the Catholics for "licensing sin." (76). Concepts that were common among the evangelists were used in her criticism of Catholic dogma. She remarked:

"Faith was transferred from Christ... to the pope of Rome. Instead of trusting in the Son of God for forgiveness of sins for eternal salvation, the people looked to the pope, and to the priests and prelates to whom he delegated authority. They were taught that the pope was their earthly mediator and that none could approach God except through him; ... They were taught not only to look to the pope as their mediator, but to trust works of their own to atone for sin." (77)

Such descriptions were, of course, very common in Protestant America in the nineteenth century.

Readers of *Great Controversy* get acquainted with a static Catholic hierarchy. The "fallen" church is indeed, *semper eadem* (78). Like many Protestants in America EGW expected a formidable renewal of persecutions from the side of Catholics in the United States (79). It may be helpful in this passage to remind the readers of persecution from the side of Protestants against Catholics. But EGW stated:

"The principles of Gregory VII and Innocent III (sic!) are still the principles of the Roman Catholic Church. And had she but power, she would put them in practice with as much vigor now as in the past centuries." (80)

(73) Cf. Billington 1952. Kinzer 1964, pp. 31-33

(74) Morison 1965, pp. 481, 482, 773.

(75) Chiniquy 1885. This popular anti-Catholic work was translated into several languages.

(76) White 1911, p. 178.

(77) *Ibm*, p. 55.

(78) *Ibm*, ch. 35.

(79) White 1911, p. 581.

(80) *Ibm*, Italics supplied.

According to EGW the changes at work in the policies of the Catholic Church, also in her own lifetime, were only devices to deceive ignorant and credulous Protestants. We read:

"The Roman Church now presents a fair front to the world, covering with apologies her record of horrible cruelties. She has clothed herself in Christlike garments; but she is unchanged. Every principle of the papacy that existed in the past ages exists to-day." (81)

The relation between the EGW visions and the histories she used in *Great Controversy* merits some detailed analysis. The problem compounded after the 1884 edition, when volume four in the *Spirit of Prophecy* series was printed, which at once enlarged the 1858 sketch from 116 pages to 506 pages. A substantial share of this enlargement consisted of historical references, either in verbatim quotations or more often in paraphrased form. No credit was given for this historical material (82). Such a method was unsatisfactory even in the 1884 edition, although the book was intended for the Adventist Church in the first place. When *Great Controversy* in 1888 saw a new edition, which served as an important instrument for the book evangelists, there were still no notes to show the literary indebtedness of the prophet. At that time, however, the editors were fully aware of the problem, and EGW herself explained her view in a preface. Some typical settings read:

"Through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, the scenes of the long-continued conflict between good and evil have been opened to the writer of these pages. From time to time I have been permitted to behold the working, in different ages, of the great controversy between Christ... and Satan, ... In the pursuance of this purpose, I have endeavored to select and group together events in the history of the church in such manner as to trace the unfolding of the great testing truths that at different periods have been given to the world, ... The great events which marked the progress of reform in past ages, were matters of history, well known and universally acknowledged by the Protestant world; They are facts which none can gainsay. This history I have presented briefly, in accordance with the scope of the book, ... In some cases where a historian has so grouped together events as to afford, in brief, a comprehensive view of the subject, or has summarized details in a convenient manner, his words have been quoted; but except in a few instances no specific credit has been given, since they are not quoted they

(81) *Ibm*, p. 571. Emphasis added.

(82) White 1884. In a few cases, however, the editors had marked direct quotations with quotation marks.

are not quoted for the purpose of citing that writer as an authority, but because his statement affords a ready and forcible presentation of the subject." (83)

This was how EGW or her editors wanted the readers to understand the sensitive question of the function of the historical references in her inspired writings. This reasoning betrays layman speculations in Great Controversy.

EGW and still more her literary assistants considered D'Aubigné and Wylie "reliable" historians also in their interpretations of the documents, when those writers in fact were markedly biased historians. Some detailed analysis of Great Controversy helps to understand EGW's position. It is reasonable to assume that EGW like other Protestant believers had some knowledge of the Continental Reformation, when she began to write the first sketch of Great Controversy in 1858. Her treatment of the Lutheran reformation, the only phase she briefly discussed in that edition, described Martin Luther as a fearless "Bible Christian" and presented significant details only for Luther and Melancthon (84). In 1884 her presentation was much different. The eight small pages on the "Reformation" developed into 75 pages for the Lutheran scene only (85). Both contents and divisions could easily be found in any popular history; in EGW's case almost entirely in D'Aubigné. Considering the heavy dependence on one author for this section, it would be dishonest not to observe how D'Aubigné influenced EGW. He supplied her with not only "a ready and forcible presentation of the subject", but also with his interpretation of the events.

The quality in Great Controversy improved considerably after EGW had had the opportunity of visiting Europe between 1885 and 1888, for during that period she had consulted some Adventist leaders, who were better acquainted with the European scene and she also saw to it that a more thorough historical study was undertaken. It so happened that the 1888 edition increased from 476 pages to 662 much larger pages, resulting in a total enlargement of some 70 per cent. The expansion referred mostly to the historical sections. The enlarged 1888 edition, which was practically identical with the 1911 standard edition, included some new historical authorities, the most important of whom was James A. Wylie.

Chapters six and fourteen in the 1888 and 1911 editions of Great Controversy supply the inquisitive historian with adequate material to illustrate how much the historical authorities meant to EGW for some chapters in Great Controversy. The first chapter dealt with the religious

- (83) White 1888, Preface, g.h. Italics added. It may be revealing, in this connection, to notice how freely non-visionary Adventist writers, such as Moses Hull, admitted their literary indebtedness already in 1863. RH. Apr. 21, 1863, p. 168.
- (84) White 1858, pp. 119-124.
- (85) White 1884, pp. 94-169

situation in Bohemia, where the controversy centered around John Hus (86). For this presentation EGW was heavily indebted to Wylie. The other chapter to be analysed discusses the English reformation and its later development (87). Although EGW referred to several historians, D'Aubigné was still her only important source of reference. If the student wants to get a revealing information as to EGW's method of using her auctores, he had better study any one of the chapters on the Reformation period, because the same result will be evident in all those chapters. For her narrative on Hus and Jerome, she used thirty-three pages in Wylie for her fourteen pages; even details were taken from Wylie, and where he went wrong in facts, she did (88). It would be a very untenable conclusion, then, to contend that EGW had "seen" also this chapter in holy vision, especially when the narrative was written after she had consulted the historical sources (89). It is rewarding to arrange the two sources: EGW's account and those of Wylie or D'Aubigné in parallel columns and study the texts in the minutest details. The investigation reveals how heavily indebted EGW was to the historians for those parts in Great Controversy. Indeed, even a careful reading of the sections in the book itself is sufficient for proving this, because page

- (86) White 1888, pp. 97-119. Ibid. 1911, pp. 97-119.
- (87) White 1888, pp. 245-264. Ibid. 1911, pp. 245-264.
- (88) It is evident that EGW and her editors never made a real study of the complex religio-political situation in Hus' Bohemia. The tension between the Czechs and the Germans at the University of Prague was not explained in its political setting. Wylie and EGW, moreover, claim that hundreds of students left Prague, but actually the figure was much higher. Approx. 5000 German and Scandinavian students left the university, or rather, were driven from Prague, since the Bohemian king had ruled that the Czechs receive three votes against one for the "foreigners", who were in the majority. There are no indications that the German students brought with them any unorthodox religious ideas to Germany, as EGW contends. Cf. White 1911, p. 100. Holmquist-Nørregaard 1946, p. 518. Leff 1967. Spinka 1968. The chronology in EGW is confused. (White 1911, pp. 100-104) The archbishop of Prague and not the Pope placed the city under "interdict." Moreover the action was a local event and it did not compell Hus to go into exile to his "native village." Furthermore, there is no conclusive proofs for EGW's contention that Hus defended unorthodox views; rather he was a schismatic. Cf. Jeffrey Russell in Mediaeval Studies, XXV, 1963, pp. 23-35.
- (89) The official SDA view holds that everything EGW wrote in Great Controversy was first shown her in vision. Cf. W. Paul Bradley in Spectrum, Spring, 1976, pp. 51-59.

after page in some places consists of quotations with short connecting sentences (90). Our conclusion must therefore be, that there would not have been any broad outline of the Reformation in Great Controversy without the prolific historical references.

It is of interest in this connection to comment somewhat on the quality of EGW's two favorite historians: James A. Wylie (1808-1890) and Jean Henri Merle D'Aubigné (1794-1872). Wylie was a professor of religion at the Protestant Institute at Edinburgh for thirty years. Being an ardent Calvinist, he inscribed his religion in his interpretation of history. His works are marked by their professional bias and by an unmistakable anti-Catholic stamp. D'Aubigné wrote a *History of the Reformation*, which became a cherished reading for the Evangelicals. His purpose was to write ecclesiastical history in order to edify the saints (91). The upheavals of the sixteenth century therefore suited his intentions well. Like many other Protestant leaders he saw a direct liason between the ideal Apostolic Church, the Reformation churches, and the thriving revivals of the Victorian era. The same philosophy of history also appealed to EGW. D'Aubigné

- (90) So in White 1911, pp. 123-170. EGW's son and amanuensis, Willie White, gave some valuable information on his mother's use of history in her writings. He mentioned:
"When writing out the chapters of *Great Controversy*, she sometimes gave a partial description of an important historical event, and when her copyist, who was preparing the manuscript for the printer, made inquiry regarding time and place, Mother would say that those things are recorded by conscientious (sic) historians. Let the dates used by those historians be inserted. At other times in writing out what had been presented to her, Mother found such perfect descriptions of events and presentations of fact and of doctrines written out in our denominational book, that she copied the words of these authorities."
Supplement in White 1969, p. 546. Emphasis added.
Correctly understood the admission shows that several historical chapters in *Great Controversy* derived from "common" knowledge. With this information in mind another famous saying, that "Mother has never claimed to be authority on history", becomes meaningful. *Ibm*, p. 543. As to further evidence of EGW's use of non-inspired material for her work, cf. Arthur L. White 1973, p. 127. Our understanding of EGW's original concepts for *Great Controversy* will undoubtedly increase considerably, when the handwritten prima manus sheets on the famous hat catalog at last will be available for scholarly investigations. The writer of this study has noticed, that there are unmistakable differences in the unpublished manuscript, when compared with the printed editions.
- (91) Winkler 1968, pp. 50-73, 119.

emphasized the falling-away theory and branded the Catholics as the apostate Babylon the Great (92).

We have noticed how the conventional line of "remnant succession" was interrupted in *Great Controversy* with the Protestant reformation. The question then naturally arises as to how EGW motivated the specific Adventist witness. But the answer is simple. Truth is progressive according to EGW. In the sixteenth century Luther and the other reformers rediscovered the pure gospel, as it was preached in the Early Church. *Sola Scriptura* and *sola fide* were the great testing "truths" for that period. In the middle of the last century "additional truths" such as the Sabbath and the "investigative judgment" to begin in 1844 came to the fore with Miller and the Adventists. Since the old Protestant denominations never accepted those notions and became integrated into the secular world, EGW could claim that they had become corrupt or parts of Babylon (92a). Such contentions EGW shared with the radical Pietists.

The third and final section of *Great Controversy* is the only strikingly visionary and apocalyptic part in the fascinating book. Here EGW depicted the closing confrontation between the powers of Christ and those of his great adversary. As one would expect it begins with a presentation of Miller's revival, the great second advent awakening (93). The reader notices how the scene for the cosmic struggle gradually moves west in *Great Controversy*, from the Orient to the Continent and England, to end up in North America. The focus on the United States is so characteristic that the description is difficult to comprehend for readers lacking adequate knowledge of American history. It is evident that EGW wrote primarily for Americans in her own time, with a provincial perspective, or emphasis on domestic problems, which meant the "world" to many readers in America.

William Miller in 1911 evolved into one of the great religious leaders in the final editions of *Great Controversy*; instead of the unschooled, farmer-preacher in the first draft; EGW eventually compared him with Luther and other famous religious leaders (94). On the whole it is true to claim that EGW especially in the later editions embellished the history of her denomination (95). Like Loughborough (96) EGW interpreted Millerism as a major part of a world wide Adventist Awakening.

The great revivals outside the Adventist family were criticized in a chapter called "Modern Revivals." (97). Those competing denominations

- (92) *Ibm*, pp. 12-63.
(92a) White 1911, pp. 382, 383.
(93) *Ibm*, pp. 317-342.
(94) *Ibm*, pp. 335, 396.
(95) *Ibm*, ch. 19, 21-22.
(96) Loughborough 1892, pp. 93-133.
(97) White 1911, ch. 27.

and sects she presented in a somewhat polemical way. However, she admitted that there were many "honest souls" in those churches. Indeed, the greater part of Zion was still to be found outside the Adventist fold (98).

The mature and old EGW viewed the enthusiastic religion very differently from what the young prophet had done. In particular the mature EGW reacted strongly against the notion of emotional religion. A typical setting reads:

"Popular revivals are often carried by appeals to the imagination, by exciting the emotions, by gratifying love for what is new and startling. Converts thus gained have little desire to listen to Bible truth, ... A message which appeals to unimpassioned reason awakens no response. The plain warnings of God's word, relating directly to their eternal interests, are unheeded." (99)

EGW also deplored the trend to engage in social entertainment in the churches, which went hand in hand with the rising material standard. She continued:

"The power of godliness has well-nigh departed from many of the churches. Picnics, church theatricals, church fairs, fine houses, personal display, have banished thoughts of God. Lands and goods and worldly occupations engross the mind, and things of eternal interest receive hardly a passing notice." (1)

In the chapter called "Modern Revivals" it is very interesting to notice how EGW warned against an emotional understanding of the baptism in the Holy Spirit; ideas which may be connected with the Holiness movement and early "Pentecostal" manifestations (2). The same attitude toward extreme emotionalism was repeated in an address before Adventist ministers at the General Conference of 1901. She reported:

"The manner in which the meetings in Indiana have been carried on, with noise and confusion, does not commend them to the thoughtful, intelligent minds... Mere noise and shouting are no evidence of sanctification, or of the descent of the Holy Spirit. Your wild demonstrations create only disgust in the minds of unbelievers... Those who have entered into and sustained this fanaticism, might far better be engaged in secular labor;" (3)

(98) *Ibm*, p. 383, 565.

(99) *Ibm*, p. 463. Italics added.

(1) *Ibm*, pp. 463, 464. Emphasis supplied.

(2) White 1958a, p. 35. Evidently some Adventist ministers had been caught in a kind of Pentecostal flurry around the turn of the century.

(3) White 1958a, p. 35.

EGW saw no need for glossolalia in the civilized countries, where everybody understood the common means of communication. The biblical conception of "tongues" always referred to real languages, she claimed (4).

In order to encourage the members who were concerned about the holiness-pneumatic movements around the turn of the century, EGW predicted that in time the SDA Church would receive an unprecedented effusion of the Holy Spirit, immediately before the parousia, a manifestation of the supernatural powers "not witnessed since apostolic times" (5). This "second blessing" would lead the "honest" in the "fallen" churches to be converted to Adventism (6). Therefore, the Adventists were counselled to be cautious lest they be deceived by the spurious revivals EGW expected to precede the genuine outpouring of the Spirit in the Adventist churches. There is especially one statement in *Great Controversy*, which has kept the members back from fraternizing with the holiness movement and the currently growing charismatic movement. We quote:

"The Spirit and power of God will be poured out upon His children. At that time many will separate themselves from those churches in which the love of this world has supplanted love for God and His word. Many, both of ministers and people, will gladly accept those great truths which God has caused to be proclaimed at this time, to prepare a people for the Lord's second coming. The enemy of souls desires to hinder this work; and before the time for such a movement shall come, he will endeavor to prevent it, by introducing a counterfeit. In those churches which he can bring under his deceptive power, he will make it appear that God's special blessing is poured out; there will be manifest what is thought to be great religious interest. Multitudes will exult that God is working marvelously for them, when the work is that of another spirit. Under a religious guise, Satan will seek to extend his influence over the Christian world." (7)

(4) White 1889, p. 391. *Ibm*. 1911a, pp. 39-41. Already in 1864 EGW criticised glossolalia and said:

"Some of these persons have exercises (sic) which they call gifts and say that the Lord has placed them in the church. They have an unmeaning gibberish which they call the unknown tongue, which is unknown not only by man but by the Lord and all heaven." White 1885, p. 412.

(5) White 1911, p. 464.

(6) *Ibm*, pp. 464, 606-608.

(7) White 1911, p. 464. Italics supplied.

But no Adventists need be deceived, EGW declared, because there is an unmistakable test to apply to the modern revivals: their attitude to the Ten Commandments; especially the Sabbath is the dividing line. She explained:

"There is an emotional excitement, a mingling of the true with the false, that is well adapted to mislead. . . . The nature and the importance of the law of God have been, to a great extent, lost sight of. A wrong conception of the character, the perpetuity, and the obligation of the divine law, has led to errors in relation to conversion and sanctification, and has resulted in lowering the standard of piety in the church." (8)

Only on one condition the Remnant could receive the "Latter Rain": the sinless character of Christ must be completely reflected in the waiting saints. Slackness and imperfection in this field explained why the final revival had not yet been a reality. There is an unmistakable elitist idea behind this concept (9). EGW's underlining of the sinless condition of members in the SDA Church in the final crisis. Dr. H. E. Douglass of the Review - staff remarks, this concept is her "unique contribution to theological thought (if not her major distinction. . . ." (10). In Great Controversy the same idea was stressed:

"Now, while our great High Priest is making the atonement for us, we should seek to become perfect in Christ, not even in thought could our Saviour be brought to yield to the power of temptation. . . . This is the condition in which those must be found who shall stand in the time of trouble." (11)

In the climatic phase of the drama of ages the confrontation between the "spurious" and the true Sabbath will be the decisive question. EGW predicted:

"Through two great errors, the immortality of the soul and Sunday sacredness, Satan will bring the people under his deceptions. While the former lays the foundation of Spiritualism, the latter creates an bond of sympathy with Rome. The Protestants of the United States will be the foremost in stretching their hands across the gulf to

(8) Ibid., pp. 464, 465.

(9) RH, May 23, 1974, p. 12.

(10) Ibid., This idea about the perfection of the character as a condition for the fulfillment of the long-expected parousia is needed to explain the delay. Douglass' contention was based on EGW teaching. Cf. White 1900, pp. 330-333 et passim. However, other SDA theologians reject this form of perfectionism. Cf. Perfection 1975.

(11) White 1911, p. 623. Italics added.

grasp the hand of Spiritualism; they will reach over the abyss to clasp hands with the Roman power; under the influence of this threefold union, this country will follow in the steps of Rome in trampling on the rights of conscience." (12)

This declaration is noteworthy, since there has been such a wide following for occultism in the United States; and after Vatican II Protestants and Catholics have, indeed, clasped hands "over the abyss." But so far, the key question in EGW's prophecy: the abrogation of civil rights and religious freedom in the United States with the ensuing cruel persecution of the Adventists with death penalty for their Sabbath observance, has not yet happened. If this part of the prediction is most unlikely to take place at the present time in America, a world wide application of the alleged rigid Sunday laws is much more unrealistic at least under the present conditions with a divided world, where the atheistic socialist states are exerting control over almost half of the globe. And in the western world at the present time the threats of a strict Sunday legislation cannot even be detected on the horizon. In fact, the trend goes markedly in the opposite direction.

It was easier to imagine such strictures in EGW's own life time, because in the 80s and early 90s there were so called Blue Laws in force to protect Sunday sacredness. Among Christians the National Reform Association worked for the promotion of temperance and Sunday sacredness (13). In the same period some Adventists, especially in the South, were fined and persecuted for their violation of the Sunday rest, but not for their Sabbath keeping. The most spectacular events of legal acts against Seventh-day Adventists took place in Henry County, Tennessee. There five uncompromising Sabbath keepers, who refused legal assistance, were sentenced to forced labour in a chain gang (14). For some years such violations of religious freedom happened in several places in the "free America." Not until the authorities had received a reasonable understanding of the religious convictions of the S D A Church did the legal actions against the Sabbath keepers end. An important vehicle for disseminating a representative understanding of the S D A beliefs were the special journals published by the denomination for the promotion of religious rights for Adventists. The Sabbath Sentinel to be followed by the American Sentinel, and much later by Liberty magazine (15), reflect this development.

Matters came to a head, when conscientious Christians of the National Reform Association sentiments spearheaded by Senators Blair's and Brecken-

(12) Ibid., p. 588. Emphasis supplied.

(13) Handy 1971, p. 100.

(14) Spalding 1962a, pp. 253-262. J. M. Butler in RA 1974, pp. 196, 197. In all about fifty Adventists had been convicted for "Sabbath violations" and approximately thirty were sent to prison.

(15) The Sabbath Sentinel began to circulate in 1884.

ridge's Sunday rest bills, wanted to protect Sunday sacredness by formal legislation (16). Since those measures collided with the famous American settlement of complete separation between Church and State, the bill was rejected in Congress. To that end some Adventist ministers made a contribution with the skilled debator Elder A. T. Jones, as the foremost name (17).

EGW interpreted the efforts to protect the day of rest with legal measures as a sure sign of the end of time. She wrote in the church paper:

"We must show the world that we recognize, in the events that are now taking place in connection with the National Reform Movement, the fulfillment of prophecy. That which we have, for the last thirty or forty years, proclaimed would come, is now here; and the trumpet of every watchman upon the walls of Zion should rise the alarm." (18)

In harmony with the established SDA tradition, EGW discerned the fulfillment of the apocalyptic symbols in Revelation thirteen in the efforts in the 80s and 90s to legislate about Sunday rest. She declared:

"Prophecy represents Protestantism as having lamb-like horns, but speaking like a dragon. Already we are beginning to hear the voice of the dragon. There is a satanic force propelling the Sunday movement, ... There is a prospect before us, of waging a continuous war, at the risk of imprisonment, of losing property and even life itself, to defend the law of God, which is being made void by the laws of men." (19)

The fear for gruesome persecution from the side of the Roman-Catholic Church has been so deep-rooted, that many Adventists believed that Catholics had built prisons in their churches, where Adventists would be chained "in the time of trouble" (20).

Somewhat surprisingly, however, EGW herself was instrumental in mitigating the assaults from Sunday keepers on Adventists. Arminian in soteriology, she presented a kind Arminian eschatology (21), according to which the Adventists themselves to a certain extent could postpone the final events by avoiding to provoke American Christians with their Sunday work (22).

(16) Cf. RH, Nov. 20, 1888, pp. 728-729. Butler in RA 1974, pp. 196-198. *Christian Statesman*, Jan. 31, 1889.

(17) SDAE 1966, pp. 634-635. GCB 1893, which had a long series on these questions by A. T. Jones.

(18) RH Jan. 1, 1889, p. 1. Emphasis added.

(19) *Ibm.* Italics added.

(20) EGW remarked:

"She (the Roman-Catholic Church) is piling up her lofty and massive structures, the secret recesses of which her former persecutions will be repeated." - White 1911, p. 581.

(21) The term was coined by J. M. Butler in RA 1974, p. 190, 191.

(22) White 1909, pp. 232-244.

She also modified her understanding of the "mark of the beast." Whereas she had formerly, in the 1850s categorically and succinctly maintained that Sunday keeping was the mark, she enlarged the interpretation some four decades later and declared that no one had "yet taken" the "mark" (23). Such reinterpretations of course made the Sabbath theology less radical and not so sectarian (24).

There has developed an interesting dichotomy in Adventist apocalyptic interpretation over the years, for example in reference to the United States as the second beast of Revelation thirteen, as Jonathan Butler has pointed out (25).

But such remarks do not in any way imply that Adventists should be dishonest in their understanding of the last things. On the contrary, the historian readily understands that with the transition from the early sectarian mood toward the more respected denominational status, the theological views also tend to be more sophisticated and refined.

Great Controversy is undoubtedly the most efficient doctrinal work ever to be published in the SDA Church. Its fascinating reading, which has turned dry church history into a kind of drama (26), has played an important role for the conversion of thousands into the Adventist Church. The character of the book is such that it either attracts or repels the readers. For the promotion of classical Adventism the book is without a peer. With Great Controversy this school of apocalyptic interpretation became a central part of the Adventist "credo."

(23) White 1911, pp. 450, 604, 605.

(24) RH 1973, *passim*. *Insight*, Nov-Dec. 1973. European Adventists did not interpret the oil crisis in 1973 as a harbinger of gruesome Sunday laws.

(25) RA 1974, pp. 190, 191.

(26) Dr. Per-Ove Olsson, Borås, has kindly mentioned to the writer that the Swedish novelist, Hedenvind-Eriksson, read EGW's Great Controversy with great interest, despite the warnings from the parish rector.

III. EGW - a Holiness Preacher

a. Adventist Soteriology Prior to 1888

Adventism began as an unorganized movement with participants from several religious groups. Since the founding fathers were extremely suspicious against any written creeds, heterogeneous views could exist undisturbed in the movement. No summary of the main doctrines was printed until the 1870s, when "Fundamental Principles" appeared (1). This document reveals that soteriology was the last part of Christian thought to be studied in the group. The Adventist "specifics", called the "landmarks", or the doctrines about the Sabbath, the state of the dead (2), and the sanctuary -in-heaven and so on received much greater attention prior to 1888.

For many years the fundamentals of the Christian faith were considered to be a matter of course ideas, to be sure, with many different understandings. In the years, since Miller's open revival, no leader had paid a special consideration to the fineries of soteriology (3). The doctrinal history of the SDA Church can therefore logically be divided into two main periods with 1888 as the great divide.

In general terms the pre-1888 period was marked by conspicuous doctrinal discussion, as a survey of the articles in the Review shows. "Mere Christianity" was often neglected (4). Another important factor to observe in this connection is the unschooled "Bible preachers", who attempted to explain difficult theological problems, while they lacked an adequate training for the task. For that reason one should not marvel at the deviations from classical Christian doctrine. A special problem was caused by the many anti-trinitarian ministers, who had brought this view with them from other literalist groups. Prominent among these were Joseph Bates, James White, and especially J. H. Waggoner and Uriah Smith (5). The most outspoken anti-trinitarians were no doubt Waggoner and James M. Stephenson.

The Unitarian sentiments in Adventism hardly had any relation with the sophisticated Unitarianism, as it was formulated by university trained theologians (6). Adventist Unitarianism or rather its anti-trinitarianism was derived from a literal understanding of the Bible. Symbols were mis-

- (1) The full name was, "A Declaration of the Fundamental Principles of the Seventh-Day Adventists." Battle Creek 1872.
- (2) Supra, pp.
- (3) Supra, ch. 1.
- (4) SDA ministers accepted the conversion experienced in other churches; their work being the first steps into the "full truth."
- (5) Froom 1971, pp. 148-183, 327-342. Cane 1963. Unpubl. M. A. thesis AU, Berrien Springs, Mich.
- (6) For the scholarly genre of Unitarianism, see Wright 1955, Sveino 1970.

understood. Jesus as the Son of God was taken to be actually younger and less majestic than God, the Father. Only God, the Father, the first person in the Godhead was understood to be God in the fullest sense of the word. Jesus Christ was the representative of that God, but not equal to him in nature or quality. The Holy Spirit was simply an impersonal force or an influence without personality. The Christian symbols from the period 325 to about 600 A.D. were rejected as the speculations of human philosophers.

Already in 1845 James White criticized the "old trinitarian creed" (7). White and Bates had both been indoctrinated in that Unitarian view, while they were members of the Christian connection (8). In the 50s the campaigns against the "old trinitarian absurdity" (9) reached a head with James M. Stephenson's articles. In 1854 he published a remarkable piece of writing, called the Atonement (10). Froom is not quite correct in contending that Stephenson "introduced Arian view in Adventist literature" (11). The same writer also published a series of nine articles in the Review (12). The observant reader finds that the editors themselves, James White and Uriah Smith favoured the publication of the anti-trinitarian essays, simply because they, too, were anti-trinitarians.

The literalist-rational smack in Stephenson's articles was unmistakable. Stephenson had it that only God, the Father, was self-existent. Jesus was a created being, with a beginning (13). The literalist reasoning was evident. He went on:

"To say that the Son is as old as the Father, is a palpable contradiction of terms. It is a natural impossibility for the Father to as young as the Son, or the Son to be as old as the Father." (14).

The next extended propagation for the Unitarian-anti-trinitarian thoughts appeared in 1868, when Joseph H. Waggoner (1820-1889), prominent minister, editor and executive leader, published his book, called the Atonement (15). Its three editions were sponsored by the denomination; the last edition being published as late as 1884 (15). Waggoner

- (7) The statement was composed in 1845, but printed early in 1846. DS, Jan. 24, 1846. RH, Aug. 5, 1852, p. 52.
- (8) Froom 1971, p. 175.
- (9) RH, Aug. 5, 1852, p. 52.
- (10) Stephenson 1854.
- (11) Unitarianism was not "introduced" by S., since it was already there with J. W. and Bates. J. H. Waggoner, who "brought S. into the truth", was likewise a radical "Arian."
- (12) RH, Aug. 22 - Dec. 5, 1854.
- (13) Froom 1971, pp. 153, 154.
- (14) Stephenson 1854, p. 128, as quoted in Froom 1971, p. 153.
- (15) W's book was greatly enlarged in size from 168 pp. in 1872 to 368 pp. in 1884.

who had brought Stephenson into the Sabbatarian community was an uncompromising Unitarian. Besides, he was an orthodox Adventist of the old school in defending Crosier's view of the Atonement to be completed not on the cross, but in the heavenly sanctuary from 1844. Christ was subordinate to the Father, and the Holy Spirit was merely "energy" (16).

Uriah Smith made a minor contribution in the same line. In 1865 he commented on the nature of Christ and remarked that he was "the first created being" (17). The "Arian" views were incorporated into the official "Fundamental Principles" (18). This influential declaration supported Waggoner's expositions of the nature of Christ and the atonement. Those views about the created Christ and the impersonal Holy Spirit were disseminated at Bible Institutes of 1877 and 1878. Most likely the same concepts were shared by James White, who presided in the General Conference in the "Arian period" of the denomination.

EGW's views were different. As a Methodist she had been brought up an Evangelical and was basically orthodox in soteriology. But one should not expect her to understand the theological fineries in these difficult subjects. The puzzling thing, however, is her passive attitude toward the common Unitarian sentiments. Most likely unwittingly she expressed views that were almost identical with the so called "Latin conception of the atonement" (18a). In 1858 she explained this view:

"He (Jesus) told them that he had been pleading with his Father, and had offered to give his life a ransom, and take the sentence of death upon himself, that through the merits of his blood, and obedience to the law of God, they could have the favor of God, and be brought into the beautiful garden, and eat of the fruit of the tree of life." (19)

EGW often, considered the redemption of man in judicial terms of Judge and Jesus the "ransom." We notice some similarities between EGW's statement and Anselm's of Canterbury famous thesis, *Cur Deus Homo*. In EGW there is in places a tension between God, the Father, and the "mild" Jesus, who as Mediator protects man from God's wrath against the sinner (20). EGW was not consistent, however, and did not formulate any theory as to the atonement of her own (21).

(16) Waggoner 1884, p. 89.

(17) Froom 1971, p. 159.

(18) *Ibm.*

(18a) Cf Aulén 1930 for different views on the atonement.

(19) White 1858, p. 23. *Italics added.*

(20) This seems to have been a concept EGW brought with her into the Sabbatarian ranks from Methodism; she wrote about the "lovely" Jesus, but never did she speak of God the Father in such familiar terms. Cf. *Present Truth*, Aug. 1849, p. 23.

(21) *To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God*. Broadside, Topsham, Me., Jan. 31, 1849.

From 1870 she began to write more extensively on doctrine (22). Not even then did she criticize the unorthodox editors, including her husband and Smith. In 1872 she summed up her view on the atonement in the *Review*:

"The divine Son of God was the only sacrifice of sufficient value to fully satisfy the claims of God's perfect law. The angels were sinless, but of less value than the law of God. ... They were created beings, and probationers. Upon Christ no requirements were laid. ... It was a voluntary sacrifice that He made. His life was of sufficient value to rescue man from his fallen condition." (23)

In 1881, however, EGW remarked that Christ was an uncreated being, who linked the created beings "with the Uncreated" (24). In those Pre-Minneapolis years she often spoke about the Lamb of God, seen against the background of the Jewish ritual service (25).

Froom has very convincingly shown how common the anti-trinitarian sentiments were in the SDA Church before 1888 (26). Some writers differ from him in some respects, however; for one thing the "Arian" theology certainly did not vanish over night in 1888 (27). Some of Froom's interpretations seem to have been determined by his assignment as the most prestigious denominational writer. With such aims it is, of course, difficult to write without preconceived suppositions (28). The "Arian" views, Froom maintains, were always a minority issue among the SDA denomination. It was "neither denominational nor representative for the Sabbatarians." Smith's works and those of J. H. Waggoner, were moreover not representative for the denomination, but simply expressed the writer's private ideas (29). Especially he wanted to relieve James White of the "Arian" stigma. He stated:

"This earliest statement (of 1845) was written by White more than a year before the light of the sanctuary was first published

(22) A series of devotional books was issued under the title: "Spirit of Prophecy." Four volumes were published between 1870-1884.

(23) *RH*, Dec. 17, 1872, quoted in *QD* 1957, p. 677.

(24) *QD* 1957, p. 677.

(25) *Ibm.*, pp. 678, 679. White 1870, ch. 4, 5, 21.

(26) Froom 1971, *passim*.

(27) The writer's book review in the *Spectrum*, Autumn 1971, pp. 89-92. Such remarks do not in any way deny the value of Froom's work, esp. not for its presentation of additional material for the 1888 General Conference.

(28) Carlos A. Swantes in *The Journal of Adventist Education*, Summer 1974, pp. 14, 15, 18.

(29) Froom 1971, pp. 152-159, 338-340.

by Crosier ... It was likewise over a year before he personally began to observe the Sabbath. ... three years before the Sabbath Conferences of 1848 took place. The "testing truths" had not yet been agreed upon. James White's 1846 statement is therefore understandable. The nature of Christ was not among the topics of the 1848 Conferences." (30)

Moreover Froom was of the opinion that the Unitarian views were imposed upon Sabbatarian Adventists by so called First Day Adventists (31). But on the contrary those believers were more orthodox in soteriology. And there are some other contentions by Froom, which need to be checked. The Sabbatarian Adventists did not arrive at an orthodox view on soteriology until many years after 1888. By accepting some the "testing truths" such as the Croserian interpretation of the atonement to begin in 1844 (32), they in fact deviated from the orthodox Christian faith. If any date can be set for a more orthodox view in the christological and trinitarian questions even 1900 is too early. In fact, the trend away from the Croserian sanctuary theology was not officially completed until 1957.

b. The Minneapolis Conference

There was a rational tendency in the Pre-Minneapolis Adventism, which caused a spiritual dearth in the churches. The emphasis on the created Christ, who was "true pattern" or the ideal man, but not fully God, as well as the rational view of the Holy Spirit prevented genuine Evangelical revivals to pervade the Adventist churches. But regardless of this, both Bates and Smith - to mention only two of the "Arians" - certainly "trusted in the shed blood of Christ for forgiveness of sins" (33). A confrontation between the "Evangelicals" and the "Unitarians" was, therefore, unavoidable. The ironical thing thus happened that J. H. Waggoner's forceful anti-trinitarian book was criticized by his son, a young physician, Ellet J. Waggoner. Together with the keen debater, Elder A. T. Jones, Waggoner became the foremost spokesman for a more orthodox view on soteriology. An examination of the printed agenda for the Conference shows that the domineering old timers had not intended to discuss Christology. To them peripheral apocalyptic problems, such as who was the tenth horn in Daniel seven, were of greater importance.

(30) Ibm, p. 176. Italics added.

(31) Froom 1971, p. 178.

(32) Dr. Holger Lindsjö, who served as a professor of theology at the SDA Theological Seminary in Washington D.C. for many years, made this observation to the author on July 7, 1972.

(33) Froom 1971, p. 161.

(34) RH, Oct. 16, 1888, p. 648.

The General Conference saw a weak period in 1888. The President, George I. Butler, was ill and could not attend the Conference. Uriah Smith, who stood for the status quo line, was much reduced in prestige by his outspoken criticism of the infallibility concept for EGW. The "revolting wing" with Waggoner and Jones as the propelling force probably discerned the opportunity this vacuum could mean and met for a private pre-council discussion. C. H. Jones, manager of the Pacific Press and Willie C. White, also took part in those deliberations (35). Since W. C. White was on that committee, one must at least raise the question, whether his mother had some "message" to give to the group through her son. As was to be expected, the unofficial gathering created a tense atmosphere among the delegates, when the other members learned about the proceedings.

The deliberations at Minneapolis, therefore, opened under unfavourable conditions. The parties locked horns over that peripheral apocalyptic query in Daniel, where A. T. Jones was accused of heresy for siding against Smith's view that the Huns constituted the tenth horn (36).

After this stormy introduction, Ellis J. Waggoner opened his lectures on "righteousness by faith." He had planned for a full series of sermons, six installments on the relation of grace and law, faith and works in Galatians, and five lectures on the righteousness of Christ (37). These sermons contained some explosives, which challenged traditional Adventism. Waggoner contended that *nomos* in Galatians referred to all law, not merely to the ceremonial law, as most Adventists then held. On this point he clashed with Uriah Smith and others; and EGW, too, at least for a time, hesitated to subscribe to that idea (38).

So great was the irritation from the side of some opponents that a motion was proposed to stop the deliberations on soteriology, until George Butler could take part in the discussions. But at that critical juncture EGW intervened saying: "Brethren, this is the Lord's work. Does the Lord want His work to wait for Elder Butler?" (39) Since nobody dared resist the

(35) The discussions took place in Oakland on the West coast. Froom 1971, pp. 241, 242.

(36) Cf. Ibm, p. 241.

(37) Ibm, p. 246.

(38) Ibm, p. 243. EGW's morning devotionals at the Conference were printed in Olson 1966, pp. 291, 294-295. Somewhat later, however, EGW followed Waggoner and claimed that *nomos* in Galatians included all law. White 1958, ch. 31. Generally speaking EGW had an optimistic view of the moral law; it was a protection for the sinner and the Christian, and the uncompromising standard of holiness. Most likely, EGW did not know Luther's exposition of the moral law as a tyrant or destructive power, which Christ had saved the Christians from.

(39) EGW's "Morning Talk", Oct. 24, 1888, as quoted in Olson 1966, p. 292.

the prophet openly. Waggoner could go on with the lectures. The tradition has it that Waggoner and Jones read alternatively biblical texts to support their views. This reading included whole chapters from Romans (40).

Preserved preaching notes by EGW give a vivid impression of the atmosphere at the conference. A characteristic passage reads:

"Here is Elder Smith and Elder Van Horn, who have been handling truth for for years, and yet we must not touch this subject because Elder Butler was not here. Elder Kilgore, I was grieved more than I can express to you when I heard the remark, because I have lost confidence in you. ... Let us go to the Lord for the truth instead of our showing this spirit of combativeness. ... the words that were spoken here were that Elder Waggoner was running this meeting. Has he not presented to you the words of the Bible? Why was it that I lost the manuscript and for two years could not find it? God has a purpose in this. He wants us to go to the Bible and get the Scripture evidence. I shall find it again and present it to you." (41)

In this speech we catch some views of the decisive power a charismatic leader could possess.

An analysis of the available EGW documents shows that the prophet with great determination supported the new soteriology Waggoner and Jones explained. But again she declared that she and her husband had discussed the topic earlier in their home. For her own part she had received instruction in visions prior to the Conference. But so far as a public presentation was concerned, this was the first occasion in the S D A Church (42).

Being a prophet, EGW preferred to live in isolation and receive special instruction from angels in reference to soteriology (43). In one of her sermons at the conference she again praised Waggoner:

"Dr. Waggoner has spoken to us in a straightforward manner. There is precious light in what he has said. Some things presented in reference to the law in Galatians, if I fully understand his position, do not harmonize with the understanding I have had of this subject; but truth will lose nothing by investigation, therefore I plead for Christ's sake that you come to the living Oracles, and with prayer and humiliation seek God. ... I would have the humili-

(40) Froom 1971, p. 247.

(41) Olson 1966, p. 293. Italics supplied. Though EGW promised to present the contents in the lost manuscript, there are still no traces of the talk.

(42) Pease 1962, p. 113.

(43) Olson 1966, pp. 291, 292.

ty of mind, and be willing to be instructed as a child. The Lord has been pleased to give me great light, yet I know that he leads other minds, and opens to them the mysteries of His Word, and I want to receive every way of light that God shall send me, though it should come through the humblest of His instruments." (44)

In the first place it is unusual to find such frank admissions in EGW. Moreover she here supported the Protestant principle of having only one authority in matters pertaining to religion, the Bible, which every Christian could investigate on his own. This platform made everything else, including her own visions, subservient to the Scriptures.

No printed reports are available for Waggoner's conference lectures. A stenographer was present in the meetings, however, and Waggoner himself published an exposition on the topic a short time after the deliberations (45). This booklet, *Christ and His Righteousness*, has been reprinted in facsimile edition. Waggoner's study has exerted a considerable influence in the S D A Church, until trained theologians in the movement recently have treated the subject. Like EGW and many Evangelicals, Waggoner interpreted the Old Testament in a christological way and discerned the operation of Jesus everywhere in the old dispensation (46). Luther had also defended the view that Old Testament prophecies dealing with Christ were of importance to the Christians (47).

Waggoner taught that the sinner needs Christ to avoid being condemned by the righteous and holy law. "God puts His righteousness upon the believer", he remarked (48). Justification in Waggoner, however, meant more than Luther's slogan *simul-justus-et-peccator*. With many Methodists and a host of holiness people, Waggoner also stressed the radical change in the sinner after his conversion. The born again man hates sin and walks in "the paths of righteousness", he continued (49). Moreover Waggoner rejected the concept of total depravity, or original sin, as a major obstacle in the lives of born again Christians. Consequently, he interpreted Romans seven as a presentation of the experiences of an "unrenewed man" (50). Justification was merely the first step in the path of righteousness to enable the sinner to obey all God's commandments.

(44) *Ibm*, p. 294. Italics supplied.

(45) The book was first published by the Pacific Press in 1890; an identical version was reprinted by the Echo Publ. House in Australia in 1892. This edition has recently been republished as a facsimile reprint.

(46) Waggoner 1892, pp. 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 27, 34, 35.

(47) White 1870.

(48) Waggoner 1892, p. 61.

(49) *Ibm*, p. 66.

(50) *Ibm*, pp. 86-88.

In the controversial issue of christology Waggoner clashed with his father. St. Paul believed in the "fullness of the Godhead" to reside in Christ, he averred. And in many similar expressions he underlined Christ's unique position as truly divine. There were still some traces of the long established Unitarian concepts, however, in his booklet, because in harmony with his literalist method he misunderstood some figures of speech in the New Testament. One passage reads:

"There was a time when Christ proceeded forth and came from God, from the bosom of the Father (John 8:42; 1:18), but this time was so far back in the days of eternity that to finite comprehension it is practically without beginning." (51)

Summary:

By 1888 the denomination had reached another crisis, this time in regard to the great fundamentals of the Christian faith. The issue could not be postponed any longer without serious damage to the lives of the members, who were starving for lack of spiritual food and the showers of the Holy Ghost. The year before the Conference D.M. Canright (52) finally left the SDA Church. A more evangelical atmosphere in the denomination might have kept him in the church. A discovery of the Gospel and free grace only could revive the SDA community. But the same ideas meant a real danger to the life of Adventist separatism (53). This was the dilemma of the Minneapolis Conference. The relation between EGW and the young "rebels" is illuminating for the constructive role of the talented prophet. It may be true that apart from EGW's prestigious support of the "new" theology, Waggoner and Jones would not have been able even to present their ideas at the conference.

The fight for a purer faith in the vital christological and trinitarian issues gave Adventism a better chance of reaching out into the Christian world and of growing into a world wide Protestant mission. Only after hard deliberations the righteousness by faith concept received a real footing in the "official" channels, but much remains to do in this field. For the future development EGW became a prominent instrument. We now turn to her achievement after the Conference.

(51) *Ibm*, pp. 9, 21, 22.

(52) C. had been on the General Conference board.

(53) This writer interpretes this crisis as a natural development in a seet on its way towards a denomination.

c. EGW - an Adventist Phoebe Palmer

The tragic outcome of the Minneapolis Conference was the divided view among the leaders in reference to Waggoner's and EGW's evangelical emphasis. There were "some" influential leaders, who openly defended the old soteriology. One of those was Smith (54). But the opponents could not prevent the doctrinal revolution. After 1888 EGW often explained her view in reference to the elements of salvation (55). Her classical little devotional, *Steps to Christ*, (55a) is of great importance here. We shall quote some settings that are typical in this work:

"Shall we not regard the mercy of God? What more could he do? Let us place ourselves in right relation to him who has loved us with amazing love. Let us avail ourselves of the means provided for us that we may be transformed into his likeness." (55b)

Or this setting:

"Oh, let us contemplate the amazing sacrifice that has been made for us! Let us try to appreciate the labor and energy that heaven is expending to reclaim the lost, and bring them back to the Father's house." (56)

Like the common evangelical view EGW taught that no preparatory work was needed from the side of the sinner to merit God's

(54) Cf. Olson 1966, pp. 9-10. O. was no impartial writer, however. RH 1889-1893. Cf. Froom 1971, ch. 21.

(55) RH, Mar. 18, 1890, p. 161, also quoted by Froom 1971, p. 343. Italics his. The emotional-evangelical tone in the post-Minneapolis preaching is evident in EGW's article. She continued:

"We labored in Chicago; it was a week before there was a break in the meetings. But like a wave of glory, the blessing of God swept over us as we pointed men to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. The Lord revealed his glory, and we felt the deep movings of the Spirit. Everywhere the message led to the confession of sin, and to the putting away of iniquity." RH, Mar. 18, 1890, p. 161.

(55a) *Steps of Christ* has been printed in more than fifteen million copies, which is due to heavy promotion. Miss Fanny Bolton was one of EGW's literary secretaries when *Steps* was written. Unjustly I think, critics have credited her for the book, although it is true that Fanny B. was a talented writer. Cf. RH, Jan. 17, 1888, pp. 35, 36.

(55b) White 1893, p. 14.

(56) *Ibm*, p. 21

favour (57) Steps was prepared to serve as a manual for both Christians and non-Christians. The introductory chapters dealt with the problems of conversion or the "steps" a sinner must take to be saved; the latter part of the book had a great deal to say to established Christians about the sanctified life. Such chapters were called "Consecration", "Faith and Acceptance", "The Test of Discipleship", and "Growing Up to Christ" (58). With the first of those headings we enter into the center of her holiness religion. The chapter begins with a reference to man as a free moral agent and the writer points out how important the right use of the will is for man's salvation. She instructed:

The whole heart must be yielded to God or the change can never be wrought in us by which we are to be restored to his likeness. . . . But since this requires an entire transformation, a renewing of our whole nature, we must yield ourselves wholly to him." (59)

EGW continued to describe the gigantic battle every sinner must engage in to control his own corrupt nature. She explained:

"The warfare against self is the greatest battle that was ever fought. . . . It remains for us to choose whether we will be set free from the bondage of sin, to share the glorious liberty of the sons of God." (60)

The same idea was brought out again, but much stronger, somewhat later in the chapter:

"You desire to give yourself to him, but are weak in moral power, in slavery to doubt, and controlled by the habits of your life of sin. Your promises and resolutions are like ropes of sand. You cannot control your thoughts, your impulses, your affections. . . . What you need to understand is the true force of the will. This is the governing power in the nature of man, the power of decision, or of choice. Everything depends on the right action of the will. The power of choice God has given to man; it is theirs to exercise." (61)

- (57) *Ibm*, pp. 19-21, 50-55. For a Roman Catholic understanding of justification, cf. *Quellen Zur Konfessionskunde*, Heft 2. ausgewählt und eingeleitet von Prof. Wilfried Joest. Lüneburg 1954.
- (58) White 1892, pp. 42-49 et passim.
- (59) *Ibm*, p. 42.
- (60) *Ibm*, pp. 42, 43. Italics supplied. Hannah Smith 1883, chs. II, III.
- (61) White 1892, p. 48. Emphasis supplied. Cf. Hannah Smith 1883, chs. II, III. The usage of the key terms "choice", "choose", "freedom", "free moral agency", "free will", are numerous in EGW. CIEGW 1962, vol. I-II. Cf. White 1958, pp. 96-97, where she con-

In 1889 the same concept was presented in emphatic terms to a young man, who was perplexed over his fickle actions:

"Pure religion has to do with the will. The will is the governing power in the nature of man, bringing all other faculties under its way . . . You will be in constant peril until you understand the true force of the will. You may believe and promise all things, but your promises or your faith are of no value until you put your will on the side of faith and action. If you fight your fight with all your will power, you will conquer." (62)

This enormous stress on the "force of the will" was very familiar to American holiness religion. EGW was, therefore, influenced by this ferment. We do know that several American denominations in EGW's day eagerly accepted the popular "will power" religion (62). Thus the American theologian, Robert E. Chiles, has shown how enthusiastically the Methodists accepted the "common sense philosophy on the intuitions of freedom and responsibility" (63). A Baptist leader in the South, A. T. Bledsoe, composed a *Theodicy*, where he forcefully defended the importance of freedom and responsibility in the individual. The Methodists hailed this work "with enthusiasm and quoted it profusely for fifty years" (64). The Methodist bishop, R. S. Foster, who was involved in the holiness movement (65), and also a Presbyterian writer, H. T. Tappan, underscored the great importance of freedom of the will (66). But the most influential work of all was composed by the Methodist editor, Daniel D. Whedon, who in 1864 published his thesis, *Freedom of the Will* (67). Whedon argued that true respons-

tended that salvation of condemnation depends upon man's own choice. One of the best treatises on the Jewish-pharisaical view on the will has been written by Professor Hugo Odeberg, Lund, Sweden. Cf. Odeberg 1963, pp. 49-81. Rejection of the concept of original sin or total depravity is typical in all holiness religion. Cf. Douglass Wiley Hix 1967.

- (62) White 1889, p. 513. Italics added.
- The heavy emphasis on will power was a natural characteristic in America during its frontier period, and is, of course, indispensable in a competitive society. Notice the proverb, "Where there is a will, there is a way." The stress on the will also characterized the many American denominations with voluntary application for membership. Cf. also Chiles 1965 p. 52. Herman Melville's *Confidence Man* was typical for the frontier spirit. Cf. Melville 1857.
- (63) Chiles 1965, p. 52.
- (64) *Ibm*.
- (65) Timothy Smith 1957, p. 121.
- (66) Chiles 1965, p. 52.
- (67) *Ibm*.

ibility demanded "essential and intrinsic freedom, including the power of contrary choice." This freedom, he contended, must derive from "man himself" (68). A powerful influence for this development was found in the 17th century Roman Catholic Quietistic mysticism in France, with Madame Guyon and Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon as two of the best known representatives (69).

Hannah Withall Smith, a Quaker with close relations to the holiness revival in America, formulated this brand of perfectionism in her devotional classic, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (70). There are several settings in Smith's book which remind us of Ellen White's *Steps to Christ*. Evidently the two writers had a common theological heritage. Hannah Smith instructed:

"Besetting sins are to be conquered; evil habits are to be overcome; wrong dispositions and feelings are to be rooted out, and holy tempers and emotions are to be begotten. . . . Sanctification is both a step of faith, and a process of works. . . . God's works are perfect in every step of their growth." (71)

And this central statement is akin to EGW's *Steps*:

"Then we believed that Jesus was our Saviour from the guilt of sin, and according to our faith it was unto us, now we must believe that he is our Saviour from the power of sin. . . . The will is the governing power in man's nature; if the will is set right, all the rest of the nature must come in harmony. . . . The moment was seen that the will is king, we shall utterly disregard anything that clamors against it, and shall claim its real decisions, let the emotions rebel as they may." (72)

There are some other similarities between *The Christian's Secret* and *Steps to Christ* (73). Since Hannah Smith published her book in 1883, EGW might very well have benefited from Hannah Smith's popular devotional.

(68) *Ibm.*

(69) Jones 1968, p. 21. Hannah Smith 1883, pp. 80-82, and esp. Holmquist-Norregaard 1949, pp. 447-451 et passim.

(70) Hannah Smith 1883. This work sold in more than two million copies in the U.S. only.

(71) *Ibm.*, pp. 29, 30, 34. Italics supplied.

(72) *Ibm.*, p. 80. Italics added.

(73) Several chapters in White 1892 discuss the same ideas and there are similar headings. It should be said, however, that EGW's *Steps* has a more racy style and is much better planned.

Hannah Smith, Phoebe Palmer, and also EGW, indeed, the whole Holiness movement, considered sanctification to be the main objective in religion. The same view could, of course, be seen in Methodism (74) and also in its related Roman-Catholic ascetic movement. In details the leaders of the Holiness movement held different views. Thus we notice that Phoebe Palmer taught that complete sanctification or perfection could be attained by the believer already at the beginning of his religious experience (75). Here she differed markedly from EGW. In her, the problem of Christian perfection or the acquisition of a perfect character, which could stand the inspection of the heavenly Judge, is central in all her writings (76). By degrees the sincere Christian will be purified in his "soul temple." This process will take time, but not later than at the end of life, or at the parousia, the soul temple must be perfect. For a perfect, Christlike character is the only thing which will survive death, EGW taught (77). We read:

"A good character must be built up brick by brick, every day growing in proportion to the effort put forth. Those characteristics which they will take to heaven with them must be obtained by the diligent exercise of their own faculties. . . . The characters of Joseph and Daniel are good models for you to follow, but Christ is the perfect pattern." (78)

For this development the will power is indispensable. It is the responsibility of the individual to create a good character in close cooperation with Christ. Synergistic and semi-Pelagian overtones are, therefore, necessary components in this type of holiness religion. EGW also warned that one mistake could undo a long and painful upward climbing. One defect in the character is enough to make the individual lose the goal (79). Such prospects are likely to intimidate weak, despairing souls. But the holiness ambition with its emphasis on moral perfection has always attracted strong characters. In this way man himself was given a substantial part in his salvation.

In 1900 EGW's holiness religion reached a peak with the publication of *Christ's Object Lessons*. She explained:

(74) John Wesley ed. Albert C. Outler, 1964, pp. 30-34, 129-133. Jones 1968, pp. 4-24.

(75) Jones 1968, p. 24. J. has written the most comprehensive work on the Holiness movement, but cf. also Timothy L. Smith 1957 et John L. Peters, 1962.

(76) Index to the Writings of EGW, 1963, under "character", "holiness", "perfection", and "sanctification."

(77) White 1900a, p. 332.

(78) White 1889, p. 129. Italics added.

(79) White 1889, pp. 122, 296, 297, 345, 593, 594.

"But Christ has given us no assurance that to attain perfection of character is an easy matter. A noble, all-round character is not inherited. It does not come by accident. A noble character is earned by individual efforts through the merits and grace of Christ. God gives the talents, the powers of the mind; we form the character. It is formed by hard, stern battle with self. ... We shall have to criticise ourselves closely, and allow not one unfavorable trait to remain uncorrected." (80)

A determined use of the faculty of the will, as EGW understood it, and the assistance of divine grace made the arduous task possible. The human will played a much greater part in the process of sanctification than in the work of conversion. EGW continued:

"Let no one say, I cannot remedy my defects of character. If you come to this decision, you will certainly fail of obtaining eternal life. The impossibility lies in your own will. If you will not, than you cannot overcome." (81)

In EGW perfectionist teachings were linked to the Apocalypse and the concept of an early parousia. The attainment of a perfect character was indeed a *conditio sine qua non* for survival at the Second Coming. It also helped to explain why this stupendous event had not yet taken place.

In the traumatic times immediately before the closing events a blameless group of "quality Christians" or sinless believers will live on earth to demonstrate that the devil was wrong, when he claimed that perfect obedience to the law of God could never be achieved in sinful men. For no translation of character can take place after the second coming of Jesus (82).

The best indication of contrary views in the rich EGW writings themselves is the opposite interpretation different Adventist theologians reveal in their expositions of sanctification, where both camps quote EGW (83). Despite some purely Pauline or even Lutheran concepts in EGW, there is such an abundance of demanding statements on character perfection that the statements on free grace tend to be forgotten. But there are also some evangelical quotations, at times so strong that they could very well kill the legalistic overtones. For she once uttered:

(80) White 1900a, p. 331. Emphasis supplied.

(81) *Ibm.* Italics added.

(82) White 1885c, pp. 606, 607.

(83) Cf. *Perfection* 1975, chs. 1, 4.

"So long as Satan reigns, we shall have self to subdue, besetting sins to overcome; so long as life shall last, there will be no stopping place, no point which we can reach and say, I have fully attained. ... None of the apostles and prophets ever claimed to be without sin. Men who have lived the nearest to God, ... have confessed the sinfulness of their nature. ... So it will be with all who behold Christ. The nearer we come to Jesus, and the more clearly we discern the purity of His character, the more clearly shall we see the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the less we shall feel like exacting ourselves. ... let not God be dishonored by the declaration from human lips, "I am sinless; I am holy". Sanctified lips will never give utterance to such presumptuous words." (84)

On the other hand she has put on print numerous statements to prove that character perfection must be attained by every Christian, who hopes to be saved.

"Not one of us will ever receive the seal of God while our characters have one spot or stain upon them. It is left with us to remedy the defects in our characters, to cleanse the soul temple of every defilement. Then the latter rain will fall upon us as the early rain fell upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost." (85)

Or this statement:

"Now, while our great High Priest is making the atonement for us, we should seek to become perfect in Christ. Not even by thought could our Saviour be brought to yield to the power of temptation. ... This is the condition in which those must be found who shall stand in the time of trouble." (86)

She expressed remarks about St. Paul, which apparently contradict Scripture in claiming that he "attained the full moral stature of a man in Christ Jesus" (87), when the apostle himself confessed near the end of his life, that he had not reached that goal. In the same line of thought she also stated that Enoch and Elijah with their "perfected righteous characters" were "worthy of translation to heaven" (88), as she had written in her first vision how the translated adventists felt they "had a perfect right

(84) White 1911a, pp. 560-562. Emphasis added.

(85) White 1889, p. 214. Italics supplied.

(86) White 1911, p. 623. Italics supplied.

(87) SDABC, vol. 7, p. 903. But cf. White 1911a, pp. 560-562.

(88) RH, Mar. 3, 1874, Emphasis added.

to the City." (The New Jerusalem.) Lutherans tend to consider this kind of perfectionism to be a kind of deification of man (89).

Needless to say, EGW was not a systematic theologian. It is unreasonable, therefore, to expect scholarly lucidity in her devotional or didactic works. She was influenced by the Holiness revival in her day and expressed contrary opinions in different periods of her life. In fact, there are many EGWs, and one can, therefore, present either a "Lutheran" sola fide EGW or a markedly different perfectionist holiness prophet. To be sure, there are some remarkable statements on justification sola fide or sola gratia. Adventist writers of the Lutheran persuasion quote those statements. Likewise those who are fascinated by man's own strivings for perfection or the cleansing of "the soul temple" easily get their share among the prolific semi-Pelagian EGW statements. This ambiguity causes concern as to the correct interpretation of EGW. The same far-reaching statements on perfection cause some Evangelicals to shudder and lose their interest in EGW. If both justification and sanctification are interpreted as gracious divine facts the difficulties may be solved. One of the most remarkable EGW utterances of justification reads:

"It is the work of God in laying the glory of man in the dust, and doing for man that which it is not in his power to do for himself. When men see their own nothingness, they are prepared to be clothed with the righteousness of Christ." (90)

(89) Bring 1958, pp. 96-115. There is no evidence that Dr. Bring ever read any EGW books, but so did a Finnish Lutheran theologian, Dr. Uuras Saarnivaara, Helsinki. He remarks about EGW's perfectionism:

"I agree concerning sanctification as a real change by the Spirit and endeavor to become holy in all manner of life. However, I cannot see how any man could become an heir of eternal bliss, if EGW's requirements of a completely blameless character were true."

U. Saarnivaara to the author, Jun. 19, 1973.

If S. had studied EGW's books at great length, he might have found some evangelical utterances, too, among the overwhelming mass of demanding work statements. In one place she contended:

"But Christ, coming to the earth as man, lived a holy life, and developed a perfect character. These He offers as a free gift to all who receive them. His life stands for the life of man. ... Christ imbues men with the attributes of God. ... Thus the very righteousness of the law is fulfilled in the believer." White 1898, p. 762. Italics supplied.

(90) RH, Sep. 16, 1902, Cf. RH, Sep. 3, 1889.

EGW also remarked that there is no merit in the faith itself by which the sinner is justified (91).

Justification sola fide and the life-long sanctification process were firmly united in EGW's thinking. In order to express this concept she employed two terms for what she believed to be two aspects of this development: imputed righteousness for God's work for man and imparted righteousness for the work of salvation in man. The latter term then means sanctification. This terminology complicates the issue and may be confusing. Justification and sanctification suffice for describing this thought. EGW explained her view:

"The righteousness by which we are justified is imputed. The righteousness by which we are sanctified is imparted. The first is our title to heaven; the second is our fitness for heaven." (92)

In EGW the two terms "imparted and imputed righteousness" are used interchangeably.

Righteousness or holiness was, moreover, always tied to the Ten Commandments in EGW. The conversion experience was a condition for obeying the law. God's purpose in sending Jesus as the Saviour was to make a perfect obedience from man's side possible. Her theory of atonement therefore basically followed the so called Latin model as it was finally expressed by the Roman Catholic divine Anselm of Canterbury. The Pauline teaching of the two aspects of the law was evidently unknown to EGW, because in St. Paul we find the moral law both as a friend and as a tyrant. The law is, to be sure, necessary as a means for defining sin and as a moral standard, but it can only condemn man to death and punishment. No man, however "good", can rely upon the law in the judgement.

The two aspects of the atonement has been treated in a lucid way by the Swedish systematic theologian, Gustaf Aulén (93). The classical model, first expressed by the apostle Paul, is characterized by the unbroken divine line. Here salvation comes to man as a free gift by God's intervention into the sinful world. As God Christ completes the atonement on the cross. According to this model the rational scheme and the judicial system are annulled by the divine agape. To be sure, the regenerated sinners are reconciled to God through faith in the shed blood of Jesus, and by this new covenant relationship to God they live in harmony with the double commandment of love toward God and man. But these Christians discern the irrational quality in God's agape to break through all rational thinking and defeat the condemnation of the law in the final day of reckoning. They live as truly moral men in the New Covenant spirit, but they do not trust in the law or in their own righteousness for salvation. The principal sources for this classical model of the atonement is the New Testament and in particular the Pauline epistles.

(91) RH, Sep. 16, 1902. Cf. RH, Sep. 3, 1889.

(92) Aulén 1930.

(93) Ibid., p. 174.

The so called Latin theory is different. Here the Old Testament and its sanctuary service comes to the fore. The atonement is based on the guilt the sinner owes God. This guilt Jesus paid as man or in man's stead, even if he also retained his divine nature. According to this school of thought Christ reconciled the world to God as the perfect, sinless human substitute. Whereas the divine line is interrupted here, the rational line with the unbroken position of the law or justice is retained. Aulén considers this later development of the Latin model or a deterioration or a falling away from the original, classical model (94). Since Sabbatarian Adventism is a part of the Holiness movement, the Latin model is popular here.

In harmony with her holiness teaching EGW paid little attention to the term, original sin. Robert Olson's secretary in the Ellen G. White Estate has, moreover, shown that she did use this designation in only two or three cases (95). It is true that EGW emphasized the fallen condition in sinful human nature, but she still saw traces of the divine image in the sinner, and her explanation of man's depravity was not at all so radical as was the case with Luther or Calvin. In his sinful nature man had some propensities for evil, but by the means of grace and his own diligent efforts, the sinner could live without sinning in perfect harmony with the demands of the law (96).

A typical statement reads:

"The conditions of eternal life, under grace, are just what they were in Eden, - perfect righteousness, harmony with God, perfect conformity to the principles of His law. The standard of character presented in the Old Testament is the same that is presented in the New Testament. This standard is not one which we cannot attain. In every command or injunction that God gives, there is a promise, the most positive underlining the command. God has made provision that we may become like Him, and He will accomplish this for all who do interpose a perverse will, and thus frustrate His grace." (97)

The Latin and the so called classical teaching of the atonement may appear to be very much the same; but in reality the two concepts are mutually exclusive. The former model gives ample room for reason and justice, whereas the latter emphasize the "ganz Andere", the divine element which no human mind fully can comprehend. When the doctrine of justification *sola fide* is expressed in its Pauline sense, there is no room for any extreme interpretations of sanctification or "Christian perfection."

(94) *Ibm*, pp. 38-171.

(95) *Suppl. to the Ministry*, n.d. pp. 24-30. Very convincingly Robert O. remarked that EGW used the term "original sin" only in reference to Adam's first act of disobedience. *Ibm*, p. 27.

(96) *RH*, Mar. 3, 1874. *White* 1885c, p. 569.

(97) *White* 1900a, p. 116.

EGW's abundant moralistic teaching and character emphasis can be amply understood against its historical setting. This type of preaching was, indeed, eagerly grasped by optimistic founders of a new society in America's frontier period. In fact it goes back to the Calvinist-Puritan mentality. Only the "fittest" with strong characters and an iron will could succeed in that highly competitive environment. Unwittingly EGW may have expressed something of Max Weber's observation of the spirit of capitalism to be found in the work ethics in some Calvinist churches. EGW's interpretation of man's part in the building of the Kingdom is, of course, Bible orientated. Both justification and sanctification are biblical concepts. Her understanding of soteriology and eschatology also determined her political and social teachings which will be studied next.

IV. Political and Social Teachings

a. EGW - a Benignant Victorian

Jonathan M. Butler has recently delineated the changes in the Adventist attitude to politics (1). He sees three distinctive phases here: 1. the Millenarites were apolitical Christians; 2. Sabbatarian Adventists slowly moved from that position to become political apocalyptics by the mid-1870s; 3. and after the 1880s the Seventh-day Adventists gradually turned out to be a political prophetic movement with some representatives in the local and national political bodies (2). The story of Adventism illustrates how a radical sect gradually changes to denominational-like status. The apocalyptic character was gradually made less prominent and substituted with a kind of "innerweltliche Eschatologie." The preoccupation with health reform and medical work has been an important instrument in this reorientation towards the established society. The waiting saints have received wholesome occupation in the short Interim prior to the Parousia. EGW's own concepts of politics and social activities were framed by this development.

In the 1850s the unorganized Sabbatarians were recommended not to vote; for voting could only strengthen the Protestant position, which was at least as bad as having a Catholic ruler (3). By 1856 Uriah Smith still told Adventists not to vote (4). After the Civil War the Adventists and EGW had to modify their over-pessimistic attitude toward the American society. For the war had after all not meant the end of time or even been the preludes of

(1) J. M. Butler in *RA* 1974, p. 174.

(2) *Ibm*, p. 174.

(3) *Ibm*, p. 182.

(4) *RH*, Sep. 11, 1856, p. 152.

Armagedon, as they had thought. In 1866 the important Health Reform Institute was founded in Battle Creek. Later EGW and the Adventists engaged in social welfare and in the promotion of temperance. And with the eager support of temperance went automatically the backing of a "righteous" political platform as they viewed it. Butler commented on this new philosophy:

"To labor on behalf of civil and religious freedom in America would provide an extension of precious time ... Two vital examples of such labor, in this period, were backing prohibition and opposing Sunday legislation. Encouraging Adventists toward the ballot box, petitions, temperance rallies and, on occasion, public office, Mrs. White typified the political prophetic that brought Seventh-day Adventism within the borders of political process." (5)

At times EGW encouraged the future leaders of the denomination to aim high also in their political aspirations. In an address to the student body in Battle Creek she remarked:

"Dear youth, what is the aim and purpose of your life? Are you ambitious for education that you may have a name and position in the world? Have you thoughts that you dare not express, that you may one day stand upon the summit of intellectual greatness; that you may sit in deliberative and legislative councils, and help enact laws for the nation? There is nothing wrong with these aspirations ... You should be content with no mean attainments. Aim high, and spare no pains to reach the standard. ... Balanced by religious principle, you may climb to any height you please. We would be glad to see you rising to the noble elevation God designs that you shall reach." (6)

Statements in this vein show how much EGW and the Adventists had been impressed by the progressive spirit afloat in the American society in the frontier period. This optimistic middle class ideal transformed the apocalyptic movement and influenced the ambitious youth to take part in the success adventures so popular during this period. It is easy to see something of Max Weber's theory of the secret behind the efficient capitalist society in EGW's teachings. But in an apocalyptic movement it was only natural to refer to Daniel as the ideal for a dedicated Adventist politician (7).

(5) J. M. Butler in RA 1974, p. 194. Italics supplied.

(6) White 1923a, pp. 82, 83. Emphasis added.

(7) White 1903, p. 51. *Ibm.* 1917, pp. 439-442, 545-547. White 1958a, pp. 336, 337.

In the third era in Adventism began when members participated in political issues and voted in elections of all kinds. A few Adventists have also reached the lofty goals EGW referred to (8).

b. EGW and the American Negro

EGW lived in a period when violent changes took place in the American society: mass immigration and the Westward movement was one important force, the struggles over slavery and the Civil War was another unavoidable issue. Young EGW revealed a radical attitude toward slavery, but she was no supporter of Garrison's immediatism. Basically she shared the views of abolitionist Northerners in the mid-West (9). As has been alluded to in another connection, she despaired of a final solution of the racial problem (10). She therefore criticized the compromising men in the Lincoln administration for their reluctance to take the anti-abolitionists to task (11).

The mature EGW modified her opinions of the American Negro. Several of the policies expressed by the mature or old EGW mirrored sentiments held by the moderates on both sides of the "color line." In harmony with this position she recommended the black brethren to form administrative units of their own, and in no case should the coloured members expect to be treated like the white brethren (12). Ronald Graybill, who has done some study in this field, contends that EGW saw no other way of solving the race problem in this era, if the Adventist mission should stand a reasonable chance of surviving in the South. A radical stance in the racial issues would most likely cause the work among the whites to stop. Since the mission was dependant on support from the better off whites, a radical policy could not be recommended. Therefore, the restrictions were conditioned by sheer necessity and were perhaps against EGW's real wishes (13). EGW's position in the 90s is well expressed in the following settings:

"Men may have both hereditary and cultivated prejudices, but when the love of Jesus fills the heart, and they become one with Christ, they will have the same spirit that He had. If a colored brother sits by their side, they will not be of-

- (8) Mr. J. L. Pettis from Calif. has served his nation as representative in Congress.
- (9) J. M. Butler in RA 1974, pp. 182-187.
- (10) Cf. *supra*, pp.
- (11) White 1885, pp. 255-260.
- (12) White 1909, p. 214.
- (13) Graybill 1970. It is significant that this little work was published in connection with the 1970 General Conference session. The intention may have been to pacify the colored groups with progressive ideas.

fended or despise him. They are journeying to the same heaven, and will be seated at the same table to eat bread in the kingdom of God. . . . When these unchristian prejudices are broken down, more earnest effort will be put forth to do missionary work among the colored race." (14)

In a modern reader such utterances appear harmless and self-evident. Considering the spirit of the times in the 90s, however, one may discern a slightly progressive attitude in the statement.

It is quite clear that EGW yearned for the success of the young Adventist mission among the unfortunate blacks in the South. The pioneer worker in this field was her own adventurous son, James Edson White. In order to have a firm platform for this mission he had built a river boat, the *Morning Star* (15). The historian may readily understand EGW's concern for the mission to "black America" against this background. In fact, she had visions which seem to be geared to Edson's specific experiences in the South. Thus in 1895, when James Edson White steamed off to the South, EGW was somewhat over-enthusiastic as to his chances to "spread the message" among the blacks. She then declared:

"What should be done for the colored people has long been a vexed question, because professed Christians have not had the spirit of Christ. They have been called by His name but they have not imitated His example. Men have thought it necessary to plan in such a way as to meet the prejudice of the white people; and a wall of separation in religious worship has been built up between the colored and the white people." (16)

Or another optimistic statement:

"Walls of separation have been built up between the whites and the blacks. These walls of prejudice will tumble down of themselves as did the walls of Jericho, when Christians obey the Word of God, which enjoins on them supreme love to their Maker and impartial love to their neighbors. For Christ's sake, let us do something now. Let every church whose members claim to believe the truth for this time, look at this neglected, downtrodden race, that, as a result of slavery, have been deprived of the privilege of thinking and acting for themselves." (17)

There is no question about it: EGW was seriously perturbed by the plight of the blacks. At this time, however, she had no field experience of

(14) White 1966, p. 14.

(15) Cf. Graybill 1970, chs. 2-5.

(16) White 1966, p. 19. Italics supplied.

(17) Ibm, p. 43.

the problems connected with the mission to the blacks. As adverse reports kept reaching her from Edson's field, therefore, she modified her policies. Now she recommended the Adventists to be extremely cautious in their approach, and no coloured Adventist should be requested to work on Sunday (18). This more realistic attitude she defended for several years. In 1908 she remarked:

"The gospel has to be presented to the downtrodden Negro race. But great caution will have to be shown in the efforts put forth. . . . We may desire to ignore this prejudice, but we cannot do it. If we were to act as if this prejudice did not exist we could not get the light before the white people. We must meet the situation as it is and deal with it wisely and intelligently." (19)

By 1908 the "colored work" had rendered some fruit and the question of integrated services for whites and blacks came to the fore. At this time EGW represented the conservative position in this matter:

"In regard to white and colored people worshiping in the same building, this cannot be followed as a general custom with profit to either party - especially in the South. The best thing will be to provide the colored people who accept the truth, with places of worship of their own, and which they can carry on their services by themselves. This is particularly necessary in the South in order that the work for the white people may be carried out without serious hindrance." (20)

EGW was a pragmatist, who paid great attention to white people. It is of great interest in this connection to compare EGW's moderate position as to the race problems with that one defended by the remarkable Negro leader, Baker T. Washington (21). Like Washington EGW also recommended separate schools to be established for the blacks, where they could reach some prominence in the lower middle class segments. The cautious EGW instructed:

"We should be deeply interested in the establishment of schools for the colored people. . . . Schools and sanitariums for colored people should be established, and in these the colored youth should be taught and trained for service by the very best teachers that can be employed." (22)

The blacks should not be taught to expect a speedy improvement in their miserable situation. Only by degrees could they expect to reach a better standard. Separate schools and training colleges would "socialize" the

(18) Ibm, section III.

(19) White 1909, p. 214. Emphasis added.

(20) Ibm, p. 206. Italics supplied.

(21) Franklin 1947, pp. 384-390. Frazier 1957, passim.

(22) White 1966, p. 207.

liberated slaves and make them a "law abiding" group. At the turn of the century, when the conditions were critical for the blacks, EGW encouraged her coloured brethren to train the coloured preachers for work only among their own people (23). Such ideas perhaps reflect the grim fate of Edson's efforts in the South (24). Against the hard realities in the South the following statement is not difficult to understand:

"The colored people should not urge that they be placed on an equality with white people. The relation of the two races has been a matter hard to deal with, and I fear that it will ever remain a most perplexing matter. So far as possible, everything that would stir up the race prejudice of the white people should be avoided. There is danger of closing the door so that white laborers will not be able to work in some places in the South." (25)

This view was characteristic in the old EGW, who no longer was a radical spokesman for the coloured people.

In accordance with this accommodation policy, it was only natural in EGW to recommend her believers not to cross the racial barriers in the marriage relations. In this "sensitive area" she remarked:

"In reply to inquiries regarding the advisability of inter-marriage between Christian young people of the white and black races, I will say that in my earlier experience this question was brought before me, and the light given me of the Lord was that this step should not be taken; for it is sure to create controversy and confusion. I have always had the same counsel to give. No encouragement to marriages of this character should be given among our people. Let the colored brother enter into marriage with a colored sister who is worthy, one who loves God, and keeps His commandments. Let the white sister who contemplates uniting in marriage with the colored brother refuse to take this step, for the Lord is not leading in this direction." (26)

(23) White 1909, pp. 207, 208

(24) Graybill 1970, chs. 3-5.

(25) White 1909, p. 274. Emphasis added.

(26) White 1958a, p. 344. Italics added. It is revealing for the methods of selecting the EGW material, that two different texts were used for counsel on intermarriage in the same year for two editions. No information has been given as to the exclusion of the former material.

Such highly conditioned statements seem to have made many American Adventists ultra-conservative in matters pertaining to race (27).

We have merely touched upon some vital social problems in EGW and analysed the available printed documents. Once the "unreleased" manuscripts files are made available to researchers, the historians can dig deeper into this topic.

c. EGW and the Social Question

After the Civil War the United States experienced a most dynamic era in her history. The originally mainly rural or agrarian nation from this time was almost thrown into its problematic industrialized age. The reason why the United States could develop so rapidly into the world's leading nation was not difficult to put the finger tips on: America possessed all the required elements, cheap labour, natural resources in abundance and capital. With the new urban centers in the East to which millions of Europe's poor had immigrated, followed unheard of social problems. Thousands upon thousands of destitute newcomers soon got lost in the fast growing slums in America's booming cities. This misery presented itself as a real challenge to the churches. Only at the beginning of this century a novel aspect in the Gospel, known as the Social Gospel, maintained that the churches should put pressure on the politicians to legislate against this social evil. Under this heading we shall examine how EGW interpreted the problems confronting America's poor, at the end of the last century and in the following decades.

As is a common attitude in a sectarian group, EGW, too, wanted to tackle the social problems of the proletariat on an individualistic, caritative way. The following statement is characteristic for this tendency:

"The government under which Jesus lived was corrupt and oppressive; on every hand were crying abuses, extortions, intolerance, and grinding cruelty. Yet the Saviour attempted no civil reforms. He attacked no national abuses, nor condemned the national enemies. ... He who was our example kept aloof from earthly governments. Not because He was indifferent to the woes of men, but because the remedy did not lie merely in human and external measures. To be efficient the cure must reach men individually, and must regenerate the heart." (28)

(28) White 1898, p. 509. Italics supplied.

The "worthy" poor ought to be helped by the local churches in a discreet, individualistic way (29). Evidently EGW never came to grips with the enormous social problems in America's booming cities in her times. In this question she crossed swords with John Harvey Kellogg, who was fully awake as to the challenge of the slums (30).

Another evidence of her lacking understanding of the gigantic social problems in the United States was her attitude to the young labour unions. Although they aimed at a moderate change of the power structure, EGW could not condone those forces. Besides, she seems to have shared the bourgeoisie fears of an imminent revolution, when the unions would be linked to radical socialism. The unions, with their representation of a sizeable segment of Catholics and would-be socialists, to EGW meant a combination of sinister forces she expected to reach a climax in the urban areas in the last days. EGW warned:

"For years I have been given special light that we are not to center our work in the cities. The turmoil and confusion that fill these cities, the conditions brought about by the labor unions and the strikes, would prove a great hindrance to our work. Men are seeking to bring those engaged in the different trades under bondage to certain unions. This is not God's planning, but the planning of a power we should in no wise acknowledge. God's word is fulfilling; the wicked are binding themselves up in bundles ready to be burned." (31)

Approximately at the same time, in 1903, she expressed the view that trade unions would be one of the agencies that would inaugurate the "time of trouble" or the final apocalyptic tribulations on the earth (32). With such strictures from the side of the prophet, the policy of the American SDA Church has always been to stay away completely from unions. In the United States Adventists on occasions have even gone to court to get dispensations from the demands to belong to a union. Conservative Adventists are of the opinion that their final salvation may depend on the issue (33). In other countries, however, at least in Scandinavia, Adventists belong to unions and do not feel guilty of any inconsistency in their religious beliefs.

Incidents of violence in the incipient history of the unions may have been of some importance for EGW's pessimistic view of them, for labour insurrections and the ensuing violence and blood shed were incorrectly

ascribed to the Knights of Labour (34). A factual study of the two leading American labor unions, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour and the American Federation of Labour, shows how the Knights had no intentions whatever to overthrow the social order and create a godless social state. For from that they were actually idealists anxious to improve the economical and sanitary conditions for the working classes. This was in fact the spirit of Christianity. The knights hoped to reach those goals "not through strikes and violence, but by political agitation, education, and workers co-operatives" (35). The remarkable thing about the influential American labour unions is, in fact, their support of the conservative forces. An American historian made the following observation about the American Federation of Labour:

"Throughout its long and successive history, however, the American Federation of Labour was to be conservative, opportunistic, and somewhat exclusive. Eschewing politics, co-operating with capital whenever possible, supporting necessary discipline, and gaining public confidence by its sober policies, the American Federation of Labour weathered hostility, hard times, and rivals; and when Gompers accepted its presidency for the last time in 1924, he could take satisfaction in a membership of almost three million." (36)

For several reasons the old EGW advised the Adventists to leave the congested and immoral urban centers and settle in the more undefiled rural areas. To be within close reach of the secluded places in the country was also necessary in view of the tribulations believed soon to beset the members in the time of trouble (37). Like the righteous Lot Adventists should warn the city dwellers of the speedy judgment, while living in the country or at least in the more healthy suburbia (38).

As an Arminian Christian EGW thought that the time of trouble could be extended into the future, if the Adventist Church only acted prudently and did not irritate the authorities unnecessarily. This policy made the leaders of the Adventist community surprisingly servile to the politicians. She instructed:

"By some of our brethren many things have been spoken and written that are interpreted as expressing antagonism to government and law. ... It is not wise to find fault continual-

(29) White 1900, p. 271. In reference to social welfare EGW was a bourgeoisie liberal.

(30) Cf. ch. 5.

(31) White 1902, p. 84. Italics supplied.

(32) White letter 200, 1903, as quoted in White 1958a, p. 142.

(33) RH, Sep. 5, 1974, p. 32.

(34) Dulles 1959, pp. 76-85. Nevins-Commager 1947, pp. 324, 325. The insignificant Marxist branch, led by John Most may have made EGW antagonistic to unions.

(35) Nevins-Commager 1947, p. 321. Dulles 1959, pp. 76-81.

(36) Nevins-Commager 1947, p. 323. Italics supplied.

(37) White 1958a, pp. 354-359.

(38) White Manuscript 85, as quoted in White 1958a, pp. 355, 356.

ly with what is done by the rulers of government. It is not our work to attack individuals and instructions. We should exercise great care lest we be understood as putting ourselves in opposition to the civil authorities." (39)

And this attitude was not to be restricted to America.

In 1900 she remarked:

"We should weed out from our writings and utterances every expression that, taken by itself, could be so misrepresented as to make it appear antagonistic to law and order. ... The less we make direct charges against authorities and powers, the greater work we shall be able to accomplish, both in America and in foreign countries." (40)

When these strictures of self-control or self-censorship were imposed upon the editors, only harmless and pointless comments could be expected in the vital socio-political issues. Besides, the EGW caveats may have encouraged a dangerous passivity against anti-Christian totalitarian states.

In the midst of the social upheavals of the late nineteenth century EGW expressed the moderate views of the middle class segments. The mature EGW believed in a stable society; to change the social order and eradicate poverty was against God's plan, she held.

"It was not the purpose of God that poverty should ever leave the world. The ranks of society were never to be equalized, for the diversity of condition which characterizes our race is one of the means by which God has designed to prove and develop character. Many have urged with great enthusiasm that all men should have an equal share in the temporal blessings of God, but this was not the purpose of the Creator. Christ has said that we should have the poor always with us." (41)

In a Testimony from the eighties she declared that "it would be the greatest misfortune that has ever befallen mankind if all were to be placed upon an equality in worldly possessions" (42). In other connections she expressed similar thoughts and became a typical representative of the scared bourgeoisie classes, when faced with real or imaginary threats

(39) White 1900, p. 394. Emphasis added.

(40) *Ibm*, pp. 394, 395. Emphasis added. So in Germany under Hitler.

(41) White 1885c, pp. 551, 552. Italics supplied.

(42) *Ibm*.

from the downtrodden proletariat. Referring to the old Jewish social regulations for the poor, she commented:

"These regulations were designed to bless the rich no less than the poor. They would restrain avarice and a disposition for self-exaltation, and would cultivate a noble spirit of benevolence; and by fostering good-will and confidence between all classes, they would promote social order, the stability of the government. We are all woven together in the great web of humanity, ... The poor are not more dependant upon the rich than the rich upon the poor. While the one class ask a share in the blessings which God bestowed upon wealthier neighbors, the other need the faithful service, the strength of brain and muscle, that are the capital of the poor." (43)

But she did encourage people to be benevolent and give the poor as much help as possible. Not seldom poverty was a blessing in disguise; and labour was ennobling, since it kept man from sinning (43). This idea EGW shared with many other Christians. Indeed, work was as honorable as any part in the divine service, she continued (44). Such views agreed with the Calvinist-Puritan work ethics. To EGW the emphasis must be placed on the propagation of the Adventist doctrines and not on welfare work, good as it was *per se*. But the Adventist Church should not develop into another Salvation Army.

EGW's attitude to the so called social question has served as a kind of great divide in the history of Adventism. Basically rooted in an agrarian society with its small town mentality, Adventism during the last century, and even longer with few exceptions avoided the turmoils in the booming American cities.

Insofar as the industrial countries in the West are concerned, relatively few Adventists belong to the industrial classes (45). However, the situation in the under-developed countries may be somewhat different. But so far, no research has been undertaken in this field.

(43) White 1890, pp. 534, 535. Italics supplied. EGW's attitude was typical in middle class circles also in Europe, in the latter part of the 19th century. It expressed fears of a radical outcome of the social question. A well-known Swedish poet, Carl Snoisky (1841-1903), voiced the same sentiments in a poem, called "Den tjänande brodern" (The serving brother).

White 1885b, p. 151.

(44) White 1885c, p. 590.

(45) This statement is of a general character outside Scandinavia.

If Adventism wants to play a role in the future of the built-up areas, however, the problems in the congested urban centers can no longer be neglected. Obviously EGW's views of the immature American labour unions can hardly be representative for their well organized modern unions. Something of Kellogg's passion for relieving the poor of their imminent needs has impressed individuals in the S. D. A. Church to take up so called "inner city work" (46). And Adventist Relief Work has played a major part in assisting the victims who suffer from natural catastrophies all over the globe (47).

d. EGW, Sex and Family

Like all Christians in her day EGW had a high regard of matrimony. A well organized family unit was the corner stone in a stable society (48). Moreover she admonished the candidates for marriage to consult their God-given reason and intellectual powers in order to avoid the treacherous urge of amorous infatuation. The advice from parents and other experienced grown-ups was of great help to the young. In particular she warned the members from being led astray by their "impulse and blind passion", which she regarded as poor counsellors (49). EGW also admonished believers not to be captivated by so called romantic love or sentimentalism, which was a dirty word among many Victorians (50). A portion from an EGW letter to a young Adventist sister exemplifies this idea:

"You have fallen into the sad error which is so prevalent in this degenerate age, especially with women. You are too fond of the other sex. You love their society; your attention to them is flattering, and you encourage or permit a familiarity, which does not always accord with the exhortation of the apostle, to abstain from all appearance of evil. ... Turn your mind away from romantic projects. You mingle with your religion a romantic, lovesick sentimentalism, which does not elevate, but only lowers." (51)

But there was a kind of substitute for the illicit occupations (52). In the small congregations the young received spiritual instruction and could find a suitable candidate to marry. It is, therefore, characteristic

- (46) The term is American.
- (47) The SDA welfare work is a well organized endeavour to assist needy people, wherever a catastrophe may occur. Cf. SDAB 1970-1974.
- (48) White 1890, p. 46.
- (49) White 1885a, pp. 247-253. White 1889, pp. 60, 125.
- (50) For a scholarly treatment, cf. Nissenbaum 1968.
- (51) White 1885a, pp. 248-249. Italics supplied.
- (52) CIEGWW 1962, under "fiction". Ibid. 1962a, under "novel reading".

for her that she recommended the "lovesick" sister to sublimate her passions by listening to "elevated themes... of a heavenly nature" (53). In another connection EGW instructed that "modesty, simplicity, sincerity, morality, and religion" should mark every step towards matrimony (54).

With the help of the power of the will, self-control and divine aid the immature young were taught to fight the cravings of their emotions in matters pertaining to sex and "sentimentalism" (55).

A happy marriage did not just happen; it had to be built on a definite pattern. She enumerated some factors of importance to that end: 1. there were many remarks in the Bible to be considered, where holy men of old had expressed their experience; 2. the young, planning for marriage, should pray much for divine guidance; 3. such practicable factors as the health of the mates and the economical status should also be considered. Spendthrifts had better forget all thoughts of marriage (56).

In a special way EGW feared the grave consequences of masturbation or the so called "secret vice." And "marital excesses" were as bad. She, therefore, praised her own physical debility, which had prevented her from being involved in illicit sex (57). A statement by EGW from 1864 has been much quoted in Adventist literature.

"If the practice (masturbation) is continued from the ages fifteen and upward, nature will protest against the abuse she has suffered, and continues to suffer, and will make them pay the penalty for the transgression of her laws, especially from the ages of thirty to forty-five, by numerous pains in the system and various diseases, such as affection of the spine, diseased kidneys, and cancerous humors. ... and there is often a sudden breaking down of the constitution and death is the result." (58)

In particular she warned women from indulging in masturbation.

"Females possess less vital force (sic) than the other sex, and are deprived very much of the bracing, invigorating air, by their in-door life. The result of self-abuse in them is seen in various diseases, such as catarrh, dropsy, headache, loss of memory and sight, great weakness in the back and loins, affections of the spine, and frequently inward decay of the head. (sic) Cancerous humor, which would be dormant

- (53) White 1885a, p. 249.
- (54) RH, Sep. 25, 1888.
- (55) CIEGWW 1962b, under "the will", "power of the will".
- (56) White 1923, p. 103. Ibid. 1905, p. 359.
- (57) This happened in her early years, when she once more tried to resume her studies for a very short time.
- (58) White 1864a, p. 18. Italics added.

in their life, is inflamed, and commences its eating, destructing work. The mind is often utterly ruined, and insanity supervenes." (59)

Such samples of horrors were very common in Victorian writers. Most likely some people could contract nervous diseases only by reading the statements, if they felt guilty of the "secret vice." One should know, however, that EGW and many others, for example, Sylvester Graham and the phrenologists, interpreted the sex urge and its alleged horrors in purely physiological terms (60).

It would be incorrect, however, to claim that EGW herself lived like an Ann Lee and considered sexual intercourse the root of evil. On the contrary EGW was married at an early age and loved her husband; moreover she gave birth to four children and seems to have been a considerate mother. Her features and temperament, moreover, reflect the features of a very normal Eva (61). And yet, the times she lived in prevented her, like all other women from experiencing an exciting sexual life. For admitting any sexual lust in a woman was unbecoming; "animal passions" were typical in some males only. Sanctified women were called by God to distract in the interest of sex in their husbands. Consequently EGW could not wink at that plan by giving in for the same urge herself (62).

A few statements help to clarify the issue. The common sexual dissatisfaction among women in the Victorian era is reflected in this paragraph:

"They (the women) complain of being neglected when their husbands are doing the very work they ought to do. Satan finds easy access to this class. They have no real love for anyone but themselves. Yet Satan tells them that if such a one were their husband, they would be happy indeed." (63)

(59) Solemn Appeal, ed. James White 1870, p.73. Emphasis supplied. In this work EGW appeared together with some of America's leading phrenologists.

(60) Nissenbaum 1968, chs. 1-5. Rene Noorbergen is correct in stating that scientific support is lacking for EGW's view of the harmful effects of masturbation. Cf. Noorbergen 1972, p. 99.

(61) The unpolished, genuine photographs of EGW show a dynamic woman with thick lips. Many observers have assumed that EGW also had some Negro blood in her veins, but so far no conclusive evidence has been produced to prove this theory.

(62) The Bible writers never recommended any specific number of sexual intercourse between mates; nor did EGW. Even St. Paul, with his fervent parousia expectations, wrote as follows: "Do not cheat each other of normal sexual intercourse, ...". I Cor. 7: 1-5. J.B. Phillips New Testament in Modern English for Schools. Italics added.

(63) White 1885a, pp. 464-465.

And again in this utterance:

"It is not pure love which actuates a man to make his wife an instrument to administer to his lust. It is animal passions which clamor for indulgence. ... Love is a pure and holy principle; but lustful passion will not admit of restraint, and will not be dictated to or controlled by reason. It is blind to the consequences; it will not reason from cause to effect." (64)

Like many health reformers and phrenologists EGW believed that sexual intercourse, and especially masturbation tapped the "vital forces" in man. Somewhere in the brain, she and many others thought, there was deposited a very limited supply of energy, which was wasted by the sexual act. No wonder then, if many Victorians were much concerned about the frequency of the love sessions (65). But to my knowledge, EGW never legislated as to the exact number of love sessions. She was satisfied with general hints. She wrote:

"Many women are suffering from great debility and settled disease because the laws of their beings have been disregarded; nature's laws have been trampled upon. The brain nerve power is squandered by men and women, being called into unnatural action to gratify base, low passions; and this hideous monster, base, low passion, assumes the delicate name of love." (66)

Certainly there were some dangers to avoid, like mechanical, unspirited love sessions, but the crying need then was the many unhappy, unsatisfied couples, who never dared enjoy sex. To round off EGW's view of sex another quote is well motivated. She instructed:

"If she will elevate her affections, and in sanctification and honor preserve her refined, womanly dignity, the woman can do much by her judicious influence to sanctify her husband, and thus fulfill her high mission. In so doing, she can save both her husband and herself, thus performing a double work. ... When the wife yields her body and mind to the control of her husband, being passive to his will in all things, sacrificing her conscience, her dignity, and even her identity, she loses the opportunity of exerting that mighty influence for good which she should possess, to elevate her husband. She could soften his stern nature, and her sanctifying influence could

(64) Ibid, p.473. Italics supplied.

(65) So did e.g. Sylvester Graham and R. T. Trall. Cf. White 1885a, pp. 473, 474.

(66) White 1885a, pp. 473, 474. Italics supplied.

be exerted in a manner to refine and purify, leading him to strive earnestly to govern his passions, and be more spiritually minded, that they might be partakers together of the divine nature, ... if the wife feels that in order to please her husband she must come down to his standard, when animal passion is the principal basis of his love and controls his actions, she displeases God; for she fails to exert a sanctifying influence upon her husband. If she feels that she must submit to his animal passions without a word of remonstrance, she does not understand her duty to him nor to her God. Sexual excess will effectually destroy a love for devotional exercises, will take from the brain the substance needed to nourish the system, and will most effectually exhaust the vitality. No woman should aid her husband in this work of self-destruction." (67)

Centuries of male domination conditioned this philosophy of the almost sexless woman. In the Victorian era these sentiments were further enforced by the prevailing inhibitions against sex.

An American cultural historian, Robert Peel, comes very handy in this connection. He also observed the plight of the Victorian woman:

"Seldom in the history of the sexes has there been an age when women suffered more than in the nineteenth century from the false ideals imposed on them by the prevailing culture." (68)

Kellogg wrote a great deal about sex and marriage. His *Plain Facts* saw many editions and circulated widely in America (69). Kellogg demonstrated a very negative view of sex, when he even tried to delay the puberty (70). By and large he shared the principles of the stricter health reformers. Commenting on the problem of so called marital excesses, he remarked:

"It is a common belief that a man or a woman, because they are legally united in marriage, are privileged to unbridled exercises of a mativeness. This is wrong. Nature, in the exercise of her laws, recognizes no human enactments, and is prompt to punish any infringement of her laws in those who are legally married, as in those out of bonds. Excessive indulgence between the married produces as great and lasting effects as in a single man or woman, and is nothing more or less than legalized prostitution." (71)

(67) *Ibm*, pp. 476, 477. Emphasis added.

(68) Peel 1966, p. 81.

(69) Kellogg 1903a, preface, p. vi.

(70) Cf. *Playboy*, Jul. 1964, Vol. II, No 7.

(71) Kellogg 1903a, pp. 511, 512. Italics added.

For Kellogg as for the health reformers the vegetarian diet was an important remedy for controlling the sexual urge (72). Like EGW and many others Kellogg devoted much space to describing the horrors of the "solitary vice" and "marital excesses" (73). Since Kellogg was a physician and wrote his views much later than EGW, it is more surprising to read his list (74). In women the "self-abuse" caused "leucorrhea, uterine disease, sterility" and e.g. "atrophy of mammae" (75).

So great was the obsession with this sexual complex in the Victorian age that the doctors knew no limits to their fancy (76). A few examples may be quoted to illustrate this mania. Kellogg described "leucorrhea" in this way:

"The results of congestion first appear in the mucous membrane lining the vagina, which is also injured by mechanical irritation, and consists of a catarrhal discharge which enervates the system. By degrees the discharge increases in quantity and virulence, extending backward until it reaches the sensitive womb.

Contact with the acrid, irritating secretion of the vagina produces soreness of the fingers at the roots of the nails, and also frequently causes warts upon the fingers. Hence the value of these signs, as previously mentioned." (77)

One would certainly consider lack of hygiene in the reproductive organs the main cause of this plague. Kellogg also knew of other signs of "self-abuse" in women besides the acrid secretion and the ominous warts. "Pro-lapsus and various displacements" resulted from masturbation. He concluded

(72) *Ibm*, pp. 205, 333-335.

(73) *Ibm*, pp. 267-480, 502-549.

(74) *Ibm*, pp. 308-315.

(75) *Ibm*, pp. 315-317.

(76) *Ibm*, pp. 315, 316. Emphasis added.

(77) *Ibm*, p. 316. Italics supplied. As an expert in the field of sexology K. had tales of horrors to relate as to the effects of masturbation in women. In one place he released this report:

"Continued congestion produces a terrible itching of the genitals, which increases until the individual is in a state of actual frenzy, and the disposition to manipulate the genitals becomes irresistible, and is indulged even in the presence of friends or strangers, and though the patient be at times a young woman of exceptional modesty. In cases of this kind, marked hypertrophy of the organ of greatest sensibility has been observed, and in some cases amputation of this part (sic!) has been found the only cure." Kellogg 1903a, p. 317. Italics added.

his description:

"When these conditions are present in a young woman, together with the enlargement of the labia and clitoris, they may be looked upon as a positive evidence of the existence of the habit. After a large experience in this class of cases, (sic) in which an opinion of the nature of the case has been based upon the symptoms named, the author has never found such an opinion erroneous." (77a)

One cannot but feel sorry for the poor women who were accused of "self-abuse" on such fanciful grounds. But obviously there was no want of interest in sex in the Victorian era.

The health reformers, and also EGW, saw a direct relation between a rich animal diet and the strengthening of the sexual urge. Families fighting the sexual lust were, therefore, recommended to exclude meats, eggs, spices and butter from their diet (78). A rich amount of brisk exercise in the open air was another remedy against the temptation (79). In spite of all precautions, many individuals complained about the difficulties to reduce the sexual activity to the desired minimum, which was becoming in a sanctified Christian. For this large group R. T. Trall and others had prescribed "home-treatments" for "marital excesses." The most efficient cure was a drastic reduction of the intake of the vegetarian diet (80). We have no reason to question the efficacy of that prescription.

There were other cases where EGW shared popular ideas afloat in her times. Like some phrenologists and mesmerists she contended that elderly men benefited from a marriage with a considerably younger woman. In such unions the younger partners suffered, she contended:

"It is frequently the case that old men choose to marry young wives. By thus doing the life of the husband has often been prolonged, while the wife has had to feel the want of that vitality which she imparted to her aged husband. ... The offspring of such unions in many cases, where the ages widely differ, have not well-balanced minds. They have been deficient also in physical strength. In such families have frequently been manifested varied, peculiar, and often painful traits of character. They often die prematurely, and those who reach maturity, in many cases, are deficient in physical and mental strength, and moral worth." (81)

Unwittingly EGW here subscribed to the idea of Mesmerism, to the law of equilibrium in nature. There is, of course, no scientific evidence of the alleged degeneration of children in the cases EGW commented on.

(77a) *Ibm.* Italics supplied.

(78) White 1885a, pp. 362, 486.

(79) *Ibm.*, pp. 390-411.

(80) Trall 1853, p. 86. In such cases T. suggested only one Graham cracker and a cup of water to be the evening meal.

(81) *Health of How to Live*, Vol. II, 1865, p. 29. Italics supplied.

In another respect, however, EGW made a real contribution. In her frequent contact with women she had noticed how plagued they were with a numerous offspring. It so happened that she took a great interest in what is nowadays called birth control or family planning. EGW had observed how poor families often gave birth to many children, whereas well-off couples had only few children (82). As a woman EGW rebuked the males for not caring for their wives. She emphasized:

"Parents should not increase their families any faster than they know that their children can be well cared for, and educated. A child in the mother's arms from year to year is a great injustice to her. ... The husband violates the marriage vow, and the duties enjoined upon him in the word of God, when he disregards the health and happiness of his wife, by increasing her burdens and cares by numerous offspring." (83)

In comparison with a radical family planning proponent such as Francis Wright (84), EGW stands forth as a moderate agitator.

Husband and wife had different assignments in life. The man was the principal "bread winner", at this time as a rule out of doors in the fields. The husband should rule his own house in a gracious way as head of the "family firm." We read:

"The husband and father is the head of the household. The wife looks to him for love and sympathy and for aid in the training of the children; and this is right." (85)

Referring to the Genesis narrative and the story about woman as created from the rib of Adam, EGW remarked that the woman, who is created to be an "help meet for" her husband, is man's "second self" (86).

As "king" in the family, the husband was supposed to execute his authority with benign humility and love his "citizens" (87). Abraham qualified well as an ideal representative for this patriarchal structure.

But the mother was not at all without honour and power. In a way she even held a more elevated position than the father. For EGW continued:

"The king upon his throne has no higher work than has the mother. The mother is queen for her household. She has in her power the molding of her children's characters, that they

(82) *Ibm.*, pp. 25, 26.

(83) *Ibm.*, pp. 30, 31.

(84) John B. Blake in *Proceedings of American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 106, 1962, pp. 228-232. Jerome L. Clark 1968b, pp. 62-64.

(85) White 1952, p. 211.

(86) White 1890, p. 46.

(87) White 1952, p. 212.

may be fitted for the higher, immortal life. An angel could not ask for a higher mission; for in doing this work she is doing service for God. Let her only realize the high character of her task, and it will inspire her with courage." (88)

The men cared only for the temporal affairs, whereas the women were occupied with the eternal values. Another setting said:

"We may safely say that the distinctive duties of women are more sacred, more holy, than those of men. ... Let her educate the children for usefulness in this world and for a home in the better world." (89)

By educating the children into good Christians the woman performed a task which was as precious as her husband's soul winning activity in the mission field (90).

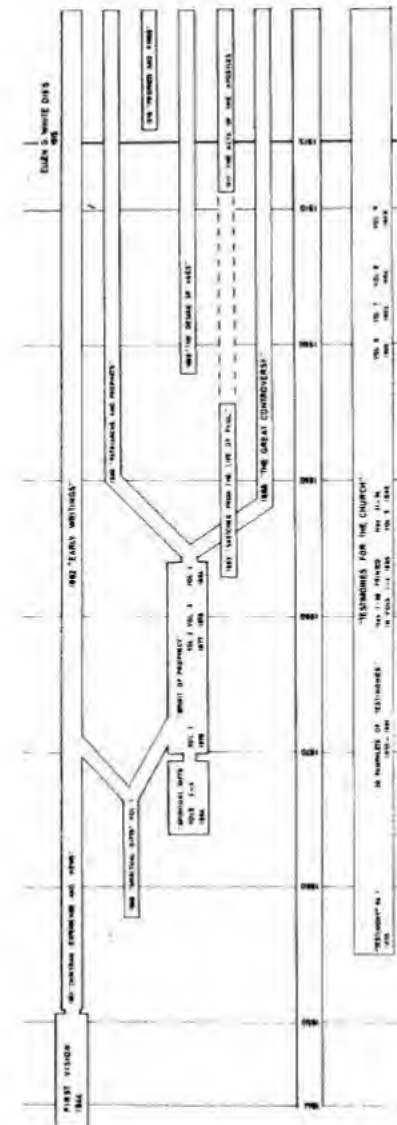
There are undoubtedly some reflections of the doll's home philosophy in the Adventist Home, which is only natural in a holiness prophet from the inclement Victorian age. In many respects EGW and the radical feminists of the period were antipodes (91). She, moreover, described her ideas against the setting of an agrarian society. The very thought of fully emancipated women to share the responsibilities of men on equal terms hardly appeared on the horizon in her day.

(88) Ibid., p. 231.

(89) Ibid., p. 211.

(90) Ibid., p. 235.

(91) EGW's moderate views stand forth more clearly, when compared with the many female reformers before the Civil War. Cf. Schnetzler 1971, pp. 77-103.



DEVELOPMENT OF SOME ELLEN G. WHITE BOOKS 1844-1915.
After an idea in Comprehensive Index to the Writings of Ellen G. White, Vol. 1

V. EGW and the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The history of the S.D.A. denomination would be incomprehensible without a good knowledge of EGW. From the very beginning she took an active part in the movement. Without her guidance and counsel the insignificant and individualistic group might very well have disappeared already in the 1840s; and the same observation is, of course, true about the firm leadership of her husband, James White. After the difficult early years, by 1855, EGW was accepted beyond considerable doubts as the prophet in her church. Oral or written messages from her somewhat later became an important item in the yearly conferences (1). Indeed, so vital were her contributions that the members felt like having a Deborah or even another Moses in their midst, as long as she lived. And yet she was less adored as long as her husband lived and could counsel her, even if the infallibility conception was implied in her ministry from the beginning. After all, her life was more or less known to her contemporaries. Moreover, critics outside and inside the S D A Church reminded the world about her human frailties. In order to face those objections the leaders from time to time published "defenses" on her behalf (1a). Especially men like Uriah Smith and Doctor Kellogg fought the tendencies of a mythological undergrowth as to her person (2). Smith desired a general convocation of ministers to discuss the problems involved (3). However, for several grounds this conference never took place. Most likely the leaders felt that EGW's charisma might suffer in such a council, especially in the conflicts with Canright (4) and Kellogg.

EGW died in July 1915. After that time a crisis developed in reference to a charismatic successor (4a), but the S D A Church had evidently anticipated this development over a long period of time, by referring to the writings of EGW or her Testimonies as the only needed source of information, apart from the teachings of the Bible. EGW, moreover, had left prophetic messages to that end. One much quoted statement says:

- (1) The General Conference Bulletins 1892-1912, passim. White 1885a, pp.597-603; *Ibm.* 1889, pp.9-21, 217-235.
- (1a) See for example U.Smith 1868; White 1860 et 1864, the App.
- (2) *Supra*, pp.Ch.5.
- (3) Smith to Canright, April 6, 1883. Certified copy in the author's coll.
- (4) Dudley Marvin Canright (1840-1919) was ordained to the S.D.A. ministry in 1865. He served in high positions in this denomination, both as a Conference president and as a member of the General Conference Committee. In 1887 he left the Adventists and wrote some books of polemical character against his former brethren. *Seventh-Day Adventism Renounced* (1889) and his *Life of Mrs. Ellen G. White* (1919) are his best known polemical works.
- (4a) A member of the Los Angeles S.D.A.Church, Mrs. Margaret W. Rowen, in the summer of 1916 raised claims to be the successor of EGW. Cf. SDA Encyclopedia 1966, pp.1057f.

"Abundant light has been given to our people in these last years. Whether or not my life is spared, my writings will constantly speak, and their work will go forward as long as time shall last." (5)

EGW's ministry is therefore looked upon as a unique manifestation of special divine revelation in the "last days" immediately before the parousia. The writings of EGW are said to contain "additional light", or constitute a second source of revelation besides the Bible. This point requires some further explanation as we now enter the question of the relation of the Testimonies to the Bible. Already in her lifetime the EGW books occupied such a central place in the S D A Church, that the members had got used to looking to her written counsel as a manifestation of God's will. There were at least 24 published books by her hand by 1915 (6). It is, moreover, important to know that the trustees in the Ellen G. White Estate, appointed in the last will of the prophet upon her death, methodically saw to it that an endless stream of "new" EGW books were published, mainly in the form of "selected writings" or compilations (7). This policy, which very much reminds us of the situation among the Christian Scientists after the demise of Mrs. Baker-Eddy (8), tended to extend the presence of the deceased prophet. We thus notice that the trustees have printed or sponsored more EGW books after 1915 than were published before that time.

In her numerous writings EGW elevated both the canonical, biblical books and her own writings. Referring to the function of her many printed messages to individuals, she remarked:

"I took the precious Bible, and surrounded it with the several Testimonies to the Church, given for the people of God. Here, said I, the cases of nearly all are met. The sins they are to shun are pointed out. The counsel that they desire can be found here, given for other cases situated similarly to themselves. God has been pleased to give you line upon line, and precept upon precept. But there are not many of you that really know what is contained in the Testimonies. You are not familiar with the Scriptures. If you had made God's word you study, with a desire to reach the Bible standard and attain to Christian perfection, you would not have needed the Testimonies. ... Additional truth is not brought out; but God has through the Testimonies simplified the great truths already given ... (i.e. in the Bible)." (9)

- (5) The Writing and Sending Out of the Testimonies to the Church, as quoted in Jemison 1955, pp.340,341.
- (6) Nichol 1951, the bibliography. The Library of Congress Catalogue.
- (7) *Ibm.*
- (8) Gottschalk 1973, pp.180-193.
- (9) White 1885a, p.605. Emphasis added.

It is worth while analysing this statement. Here EGW explains her specific mission to the S D A people. Her Testimonies were written to meet the needs in her own denomination. But it would be incorrect to say that all EGW books served this purpose, since for example the five volumes in the Conflict series were distributed widely outside the Adventist circles. EGW, moreover, makes it clear that the Bible only should, when properly studied, suffice for salvation. In the third place she explains an important function for her writings, when she says that the Testimonies are an inspired commentary to the Scriptures. They simplify "the great truths already given." Most obviously EGW wanted to underline that the same divine inspiration is operating both in the Bible and in the Testimonies, but the two collections of writings serve the (Adventist) Church in different ways.

In order to give a balanced view of the problem, we had better enlarge somewhat in this field, since there might be a risk that some students may miss an important point here, viz. how EGW valued her own writings. For this sake it is necessary to cite one or two additional quotes. From the earliest years EGW emphasized the unique function of her ministry. In 1849 she taught:

"I saw it was a small thing to speak against the instrument, but it was dangerous to slight the words of God. (Here her own visions.) I saw if they were in error and God chose to show them their errors through visions, and they disregarded the teachings of God through visions, they would be left to take their own way..." (10)

In the same early communication Jesus makes the following comment in reference to a question why some Adventists lost eternal life:

"My Father taught, but you would not be taught. - He spoke through visions, but you disregarded his voice, and he gave you up to your own ways, to be filled with your own doings." (11)

Since EGW considered the Testimonies to be the fruit of the Holy Spirit, it is, of course, only logical to note the great importance she allotted to them. To "slight the Testimonies" could mean eternal damnation. In a special message to the church at Battle Creek she made this evident:

"The young who heed not the warnings of the word and slight the Testimonies of His Spirit can only be a living curse to the office and should be separated from it... It is Satan's plan to weaken the faith of God's people in the Testimonies. Next follows skepticism in regard to the vital

points of our faith, the pillars of our position, then doubts as to the Holy Scriptures, and then the downward march to perdition." (12)

The student who reads widely in the numerous writings of EGW, however, can also find some quotations that support the Protestant platform of the supremacy of the Bible. Thus she stated the following idea in a recently released manuscript from 1889:

"God help us to be Bible students. Don't trust any living man to interpret the Bible for you, until you can see the reason for it yourself and a thus saith the Lord in the Scriptures. And when you see this, you know it, and you know it for yourself, and it to be the truth of God. (You say) 'I have read it, I have seen it, and my own heart takes hold upon it, and it is the truth God has spoken to me from His word.' Now this is what we are to be, individual Christians. We want to have an individual, personal experience." (13)

Or this declaration:

"The Bible is its own expositor. Or passage will prove to be a key that will unlock other passages, and in this way light will be shed upon the hidden meaning of the word. By comparing different texts treating on the the same subject, viewing their bearing on every side, the true meaning of the Scripture will be made evident." (14)

It is only reasonable to suggest that recurring criticism as to the incompatibility of the sola Scriptura platform and the view of the EGW writings as an indispensable and inspired commentary to the understanding of the Bible, propelled this comment, so typical in Evangelical Christians.

Over the years Adventist leaders have treasured the writings of EGW on several grounds. 1. They have served as a unifying cement to give stability and unity to the growing world church. 2. Although the doctrines derive solely from the Bible (15), the Testimonies, or the whole range of the EGW writings, contain much indispensable instruction to the Adventist community and to the world. Thus the whole plan of Redemption is explained in those books and much "additional light" is given as guidance for God's "remnant church" in the "last days", immediately be-

(12) White 1885c, pp.209-211. Italics added.

(13) RH, Jan. 30, 1975, pp.9,10.

(14) White 1885a, pp.551,552. Emphasis supplied.

(15) QD 1957, p.28.

(10) To Those Who Receive the Seal of the Living God. Broadside, Topsham, Maine, Jan.31, 1849. Italics added.

(11) Ibid. Italics supplied.

fore the return of Jesus (16). 3. Especially in the United States the Bible and the EGW writings make one indissoluble unit. References to the Scriptures are therefore richly interspersed with EGW quotations, usually referred to as the "Spirit of Prophecy" (17).

At least by 1870 it became a habit among Sabbatarian Adventists to refer to the EGW writings as "the Spirit of Prophecy" (18). After that time the Testimonies had been acknowledged as an absolute source of divine inspiration. The term itself requires some comment. It is derived from Rev. 19:10b, where we read in the authorized version: "... for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy". An Adventist editor, Richard B. Lewis (19), has aptly explained the Adventist understanding of this key phrase in a few points:

- 1) The Apocalypse speaks of a victorious, undefiled "Remnant." This church is characterized by its obedience to the law of God and its faith in Jesus. That remnant "has" the testimony of Jesus. (Rev. 12:17).
- 2) The same remnant keeps all the commandments of God, including the seventh day Sabbath (Saturday).
- 3) In Revelation 19:10 "the testimony of Jesus" is said to be "the spirit of prophecy". Conclusion: The S D A Church is the only Christian organization.

In order to comprehend what the text in Rev. 19:10b actually is referring to it is necessary to consult the original Greek text and also to understand the whole genre and the context of the verse. We read in the Greek text: " *ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ ἐστὶν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας.*"

- (16) Cf. W.E. Read in *Our Firm Foundation*, 1953, pp. 257-324. His discussion on The Closing Events is saturated with quotations from the EGW writings. Cf. the S D A Commentary 1957 on the apocalypse.
- (17) There is such an abundance of evidences to demonstrate this contention that separate references may appear redundant. Cf. however, RH, June 2, 1977, pp. 13-15, *Ibm*, June 23, 1977, pp. 2, 6-7, *Ibm*, June 30, 1977, p. 2, 6-7. The Ministry, e.g. November, 1969, pp. 24-25, 27-29; *Ibm*, July, 1955, pp. 4-7, 10-13, 19-21. EGW is used so markedly, because she is looked upon as the only inspired, infallible commentary, or as Pastor D. E. Rebok expressed it: "Seeing the Scriptures through the eye of the Spirit of Prophecy", viz. EGW. Cf. *Our Firm Foundation*, 1953, p. 250.
- (18) A new series of EGW books was named so in 1870.
- (19) *Spectrum*, II:4, Autumn 1970, pp. 69-72.

The first part of the text presents a philological problem, since the genitive case can express a double meaning, depending upon, whether it is a subjective genitive or the objective variant. The genitive case suggests "Jesus' testimony", but the objective variant can be rendered "the testimony through Jesus", or "the testimony about Jesus." The present writer would, therefore, suggest the following translation of Rev. 19:10b: "For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit which inspires all prophecy." In this connection it is helpful to observe how some modern experts have translated the same Scripture (20). A Swiss exegete, Dr. Charles Brüttsch, who treated this text at some length explained the meaning of "the testimony of Jesus" as follows:

"Das Zeugnis der Off. ist Jesus Tat. Er ist der Hauptzeuge. ..., aber sein Zeugnis übt er durch die Christen als seine Werkzeuge aus. ... Darum haben die Christen das Zeugnis, von Jesu' (12, 17; 19, 10, *ib.*, 14). Damit wird der Genitiv ebenfalls objektiv. "Das Zeugnis Jesu ist das Zeugnis durch Jesus, aber auch... über Jesus... In 1, 2; 19, 10 meint das Zeugnis Jesu' den Inhalt des Buches. Sachlich bezieht sich dieses Zeugnis nicht etwa auf Tod und Auferstehung..., sondern eigenartigerweise auf die bevorstehende Parusie." (21)

Referring to Karl Barth, Brüttsch suggests that there is a direct relation between "the testimony of Jesus" and the Word of God (22). This concept should be familiar also to Adventists, since James White wrote that "the testimony of Jesus" included "the entire prophetic Word of both Testaments" (23). It is very clear, therefore, that the term "the testimony of Jesus", in its primary sense refers to the book of Revelation and in a secondary sense to the testimony every Christian delivers about Jesus or to Jesus (24). In a wider sense Rev. 19b embraces all inspired prophecy. The term "Spi-

- (20) The Good News for Modern Man reads: "For the truth that Jesus revealed is what inspires the prophets." J. B. Phillips' version "The New Testament in Modern English, for schools says: "(This witness to Jesus inspires all prophecy." A modern Swedish version, Dr. Hede-gard's translation expresses this thought: "Ty Jesus vittnesbörd är den ande som verkar profetia." (For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit that causes prophecy.) The Revised Version reads: "for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." The New English Bible interprets the text as follows: "Those who bear testimony to Jesus are inspired like the prophets."
- (21) *Zürcher Bibelkommentare, Die Offenbarung Jesu Christi* 1970, Vol. I, p. 30. Italics supplied.
- (22) *Ibm*.
- (23) H. D. Ballenger, *The Spirit of Prophecy and the Gift to Prophecy*, n.d. p. 2.
- (24) Rev. 1:2, 9; 12:17; 19:10; 22:6. Brüttsch op.cit.

rit of Prophecy" is, of course, not a human being or a collection of books, but nothing else than the Holy Spirit (25).

There are statements in the voluminous EGW writings to support the contention that she herself saw her own ministry as a definite conclusion or end of God's special communication with mankind on this side of heaven. The Bible and the Testimonies complete the record. We read:

"In ancient times God spoke to men by the mouth of prophets and apostles. In these days He speaks to them by the Testimonies of His Spirit. There was never a time when God instructed His people more earnestly than He instructs them now concerning His will and the course He would have them to pursue." (26)

In this statement EGW alluded to the famous introduction to the Book of Hebrews and continued the phrase by referring to her own books. Adventists accordingly believe in a continuous revelation, or in the EGW books as a second source of inspiration in order to help modern men understand God's primary source of revelation. Thus EGW tried to preserve both the validity of the Bible and the divine nature in her own revelations. Hence EGW is the only authoritative "systematic theologian" in the S D A Church and its only infallible commentator of the Scriptures. Moreover, her view of the Bible, and her hermeneutics are also mandatory to Adventist expositors. For this reason the S D A seven volume Commentary contains an abundant supply of EGW statements (27). The weekly Sabbath School Lessons, or Quarterlies, are replete with EGW comments, and she is in fact almost the only commentator (28).

Some pertinent statements in this field from authoritative leaders illustrate the situation. In 1969 the present secretary of the General Conference Association deplored the inroads of liberalism in Evangelical

(25) Cf. R. B. Lewis in *Spectrum*, II:4, Autumn 1970, pp. 69-72.

(26) White 1885c, p. 230. Italics supplied.

(27) Cf. S. D. A. Bible Commentary, vols. I-VII. (1953-1957)

(28) Cf. The Sabbath School Quarterly, 1962-1975. Not infrequently members complain about this policy. A Danish medical doctor voiced the reaction of many Adventists:

"This abuse of Scripture (of having EGW determine the interpretations of the Bible) is enforced further by the unsatisfactory method to refer to EGW, partially, when the remarks comment the questions at a greater length than the Bible references, partially by a onesided, arbitrary choice of the EGW statements. As matters now stand, the quotations may have passed through several versions (in the compiled EGW books) to the extent that the original setting has been lost." *Kommunikation* IV:3, Aug. 1972, p. 2. The author's translation.

churches and went on:

"But we have an advantage. In the writings of Ellen G. White, the Lord's chosen messenger to His remnant church, we have revealed not what man thinks about God and His word and its meaning, but what God thinks about these things. The author of the Holy Bible thus reveals His purposes, intent, and meaning by the same kind of divine revelation that brought forth the Word in its original form. We need not be in doubt what the Author meant or why He stated what He did. This, in most cases, and certainly the vital ones, He has revealed to us Himself. (Through EGW). He has not left it to chance and to human discovery. This is the precious advantage we have that others do not have. For it we should be humbly and sincerely grateful. For us it provides an authoritative, safe answer to most of the questions that are raised about the Bible today." (29)

And in 1973 Arthur L. White, the prestigious Secretary of the Ellen G. White Publications underlined the same point in a different way. He expressed the idea how fortunate Adventists are to have the EGW writings, when they discuss the "question of the inspiration of the prophets." We read:

"Seventh-day Adventists are uniquely fortunate... We are not left to find our way, drawing all our conclusions from the writings of two thousand years and more ago that have come down to us through varied transcriptions and translations. With us it is almost a contemporary matter, for we have had a prophet in our midst. ... What is more, rather than having in our possession only relatively few chapters or a handful of letters, as is the case with the extant records of the Bible prophets, we have the full range of Ellen G. White Writings penned through a period of seventy years, embodying her published books, her 4,600 periodical articles, her manuscripts, letters, diaries, and so on. ... Further, she wrote in the English language, so we are not confronted with the problems of translation and only rarely with those of transcription." (30)

Pastor Dower in emphatic terms made it crystal clear how important the EGW books are in Adventist biblical expository work. In fact, one must certainly wonder what chances are left for the biblical authors themselves to express their intention, when another collection of books so definitely explains the meaning. Above all, one must not forget that the large collection of EGW books - many times larger than the Bible - must of necessity also be interpreted in a selective way. There is a risk involved here

(29) *The Ministry*, Nov. 1969, p. 5. Emphasis supplied.

(30) Arthur L. White 1973, pp. 15f.

to turn ministers into a body of EGW commentators, instead of having them work hard with the original Bible texts, and that even in the original languages. If the S D A denomination claims to be Protestant, the Bible must remain supreme and not in the least degree fettered to any other human source.

Likewise Pastor White wanted to make the most of the EGW writings; a thing only to be expected in a trustee with that standing. On the basis of faith in the integrity and inspiration of EGW, the latter writer tries to demonstrate how important the modern charismatic leader is, when we approach the question as to the nature of the prophetic office. His argumentation should carry weight within the S D A Church and corresponds with its unique tradition. Then, one might pose the question as to whether the writer really wants to say that the EGW writings are more dependable than the Bible, in consideration of the much larger number of preserved manuscripts. This reasoning is to be sure a common place utterance among Mormons, but sounds extremely foreign to many Adventists, especially to those fostered in a Lutheran or Reformed environment.

N. R. Dower's and Arthur L. White's declarations are certainly of interest and significance, but yet they cannot be compared with the corporate statements by hundreds of Adventist leaders and Bible teachers, who contributed to the 1957 manual called, *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (QD 1957), which beyond dispute is the most authoritative exposition of Adventists beliefs so far published. In that remarkable volume, which contained the Adventist "answers" to a long list of polemical or intricate questions written by some of America's foremost evangelical leaders, with Drs. Barnhouse and Walter A. Martin as two of the foremost representatives, a completely new attitude towards the evangelical churches was presented by the "evangelical" Adventist theologians. Among those could be enumerated Drs. LeRoy Edwin Froom and W. C. C. Murdoch, dean of the Adventist Theological Seminary at Berrien Springs, Michigan (31). Another important writer in QD was the Adventist world field evangelist Roy Allan Anderson (32). In QD the editors, in full harmony with the General Conference administrators under the auspices of Pastor R. R. Figuhr, wanted to show how much Adventists had in common with other Christians (33). In this comprehensive doctrinal manual the editors were eager to prove that Adventists, despite all that had been said or written in polemical books, were in fact conservative, evangelical Christians. In particular QD brought out that Adventists believe in the full deity of Jesus Christ, in his unique sinless human nature, as it existed in Adam prior to the Fall, and that the atonement was completed on the cross (34). In this way some aspects in nineteenth century Adventism, for example the 1844

(31) Author's information at the General Conference office, June 1967. Cf. QD 1957, p. 9.

(32) Pastor Anderson's report to ministers at Tyrifjord, Summer 1959.

(33) QD 1957, pp. 21-24.

(34) QD 1957, pp. 53-60, 244-245.

events were somewhat downgraded (35). This reinterpretation of Adventism into evangelical Protestant tenets could be made thanks to the strong central organization and its interpretation of EGW. From a sociological point of view this development is typical in the sect's transformation into a denomination.

QD also contains some statements about the relation of the EGW writings to the Bible. An important passage reads:

- "1. That we do not regard the writings of Ellen G. White as an addition to the sacred canon of Scripture.
2. That we do not think of them as of universal application, as in the Bible, but particularly for the Seventh-day Adventist Church.
3. That we do not regard them in the same sense as the Holy Scriptures, which stand alone and unique as the standard by which all other writings must be judged. Seventh-day Adventists uniformly believe that the canon of Scripture closed with the book of Revelation. ... We test the writings of Ellen G. White by the Bible, but in no sense do we test the Bible by her writings. ... We have never considered Ellen G. White to be in the same category as the writers of the canon of Scripture." (36)

Such lucid paragraphs certainly subscribe to the Protestant tradition and make Adventists different than Mormons or Christian Scientists. And so far, QD is authoritative. But it is only fair to say that not all individual Adventist ministers or leaders have subscribed to the articles in QD. One of

(35) *Ibm*, pp. 396-445. Cf. Dr. Donald Gray Barnhouse in *Eternity*, Jul. 1956. Barnhouse remarked:

"Further, they (the Adventist General Conference officials) do not believe, as some of their earlier teachers taught, that Jesus' atoning work was not completed on Calvary but instead that He was still carrying on a second ministering work since 1844. This idea is totally repudiated. ... Since the sanctuary doctrine is based on the type of the Jewish high priest going into the Holy of Holies to complete his atoning work, it can be seen that what remains is most certainly exegetically untenable and theological speculation of a highly imaginative order. What Christ is doing, since 1844, according to this version, is going over the records of all human beings and deciding what rewards are going to be given to individual Christians. We personally do not believe that there is even a suspicion of a verse in Scripture to sustain such a peculiar position, and we further believe that any effort to establish it is stale, flat, and unprofitable!"

(36) QD 1957, pp. 89-90. Emphasis supplied.

the bitter opponents from the beginning was a well-known Bible college teacher, Pastor M. L. Andreason (37). He protested against the manifestation of "Neo-Adventism" he detected in QD, especially in regard to 1844 and the sanctuary doctrine and the sinless human nature of Christ. Mirabile dictu, this "heretical" teaching Andreassen defended has since that time become accepted orthodoxy, at least so far as Christology is concerned (38).

Hence in a way the opponents of QD have gained ground. At least in the Ellen G. White Estate prominent trustees feel uneasy about what QD stated on EGW (39). But still there is no official declaration to undo the tenets about EGW in QD.

There is a continuous discussion going on in the SDA Church as to the position of "the Spirit of Prophecy." This discussion is of course nothing new, since it has been at work all through the years. In the early 1880s, in connection with Canright's final apostasy, the Review editor, Uriah Smith, well formulated the problem as to EGW's position. Alarmed by the "inordinate claims" set up for EGW, he frankly stated his views to Canright in 1883. Smith declared:

"... if the visions should drop out entirely, it would not affect my position and Biblical theories at all; ... for I am rooted and grounded on our doctrines. ... I didn't learn any of these things from the visions, and they don't stand on their authority." (40)

Then Smith went on to show where the real difficulty lay as to a "sound" reinterpretation of EGW:

"The idea has been studiously instilled in the minds of the people that to question the visions in the least is to become at once, a hopeless apostate and rebel; and too many, I am sorry to say, have not strength of character to shake off such a conception, hence the moment anything is done to shake them on the visions they lose faith in everything and go to destruction." (41)

Smith, therefore, desired a novel interpretation of EGW, but not any downgrading of her ministry. His frank letter reveals his deep-rooted Protestant view as to inspiration. Also today the same problems remain to be

(37) Cf. Letters to the Churches, n.d. A. agreed with Dr. Barnhouse that QD 1957 downgraded 1844 and the sanctuary doctrine.

(38) Perfection 1976, articles by Herbert D. Douglass and Mervin Maxwell. Pierson 1975, chs. 4-5. Today even Kenneth H. Wood of the RH, and General Conference officials, such as Dr. Robert Olson agree with M. L. Andreassen as to Christ's sinful human nature.

(39) Arthur L. White statement to the author Dec. 1971.

(40) Smith to Canright, Apr. 6, 1883. Certified copy in the author's coll.

(41) Ibid, Italics supplied.

solved, as Smith outlined it about one hundred years ago. And the basic issue is the question how to defend the ultimate claims of EGW in a Protestant church. This is a very important point: the Adventists have always had problems with the "inordinate claims" of their prophet, whereas such difficulties seem to be non-existent among Mormons or Christian Scientists. But the answer is simple, as Smith pointed out to Canright: the Adventists have basically a Protestant background and a hermeneutical tradition characteristic in American Protestants of the literalist tradition.

The question referring to EGW's influence in today's Adventist churches is certainly not easy to tackle, because of the limited degree of factual research. Most likely, however, there are considerable differences from country to country and even from member to member. Generally speaking her influence seems to be the strongest in North America and in Australia, where she, of course, spent many years and where her writings can be read in the original. In Scandinavia she is much read in Norway and in Finland (42); her importance is less evident in Sweden and Denmark (42a). A tentative survey (43) from Germany shows that hardly any of the interviewed Adventists with a university examination believe in EGW as the Spirit of Prophecy. Nonetheless she is highly regarded by many also in that country, but many German Adventists interpret her differently than the official view in America. Roughly speaking, the historical criticism increases with the degree of higher education (43a). And in the United States, too, many Adventists, not least college people, are eager to be confronted with "the real Ellen G. White." The Spectrum magazine has published many articles in recent years where these problems have been ventilated (44).

When properly used, in accordance with the Protestant principles of the sole authority of the Bible in matters pertaining to the faith, few Adventists object to the study of the Testimonies or the original EGW works. The tension is detected elsewhere; it is found in what some members consider to be misuse of her writings, unhistorical interpretations and questionable "selected writings" (45). But in many respects Adventists have felt blessed by their study of for example her deeply spiritual books and also by her own unquestionable dedication to the cause. Hence EGW can either make or break the unity in the Adventist community, depending upon how she is presented.

(42) So far as this writer can judge more EGW books have been printed by the Adventist Finnish publishing than in other non-English speaking country. By studying those works the members tend to believe in the "Spirit of Prophecy."

(42a) The Author's Interview in 1968-1969, observations as a participant.

(43) Umfrage unter 200 Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Deutschland. Hrsg. von Wilfried Ohrlich. n.d. Duplicated.

(43a) Ibid

(44) Cf. Spectrum 1970-1976.

(45) But to be sure there are also many valuable, balanced compilations, such as White 1938, Ibid, 1946.

Conclusion

Though so far practically unknown to the world at large, and even among ecclesiastical specialists, EGW nevertheless qualifies as one of America's great religious leaders. There are so many facets of excellence in this charismatic leader that we have only been able to touch on some of her more outstanding contributions, for example as counsellor, spiritual leader, devotional writer and public speaker. In the early period EGW operated as one of the numerous trance prophets in America, outside the established churches. In time, however, she abandoned this role and became a mature prophet with her feet solidly planted on terra firma. For most often EGW then functioned as a great realist, who inspired her denomination and helped keep the organization firmly united. It is moreover obvious that America's charismatic leaders in the 19th century were dynamic leaders, who possessed the ability of renewing religion and try new measures, most often at the right time. This observation also holds true for Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Mrs. Mary Baker-Eddy.

We conclude this study with a discussion of the Adventist health ideas.

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- 1948 Testimonies for the Church, Vol. 1. Wash. D.C.
 1948a - - - - Vol. 2. Wash. D.C.
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 1948c - - - - Vol. 4. Wash. D.C.
 1948d - - - - Vol. 5. Wash. D.C.
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1863 Spiritual Gifts. Important Facts of Faith, in Connection With the History of Holy Men of Old. Vol. 3. Battle Creek, Mich.

1864 Spiritual Gifts. Important Facts of Faith: Laws of Health, an the Testimonies Nos. 1-10. (sic) Vol. 4. Battle Creek, Mich.

1864 "Appeal to Mothers" EGW material pp. 5-34. Battle Creek, Mich. (As was typical in many Victorian writers EGW frightened the readers for the alleged dire consequences of juvenile masturbation.)

The Spirit of Prophecy series 1870-1884.

- 1870 The Spirit of Prophecy. The Great Controversy Between Christ and His Angels and Satan and His Angels. Vol. 1. Battle Creek, Mich.
 1877 The Spirit of Prophecy. The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. Life, Teachings and Miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ. Vol. 2. Battle Creek.
 1878 The Spirit of Prophecy. The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. The Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Vol. 3. Battle Creek, Mich.

1884 Spirit of Prophecy. The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. From the Destruction of Jerusalem to the End of the Controversy. Vol. 4. Battle Creek, Mich.

1872 Testimony to the Church in Battle Creek. Battle Creek, Mich. (This was one of the many "local" testimonies with special reference to the problems at the head quarters church.)

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1877a Life of Christ, No 1. Redemption: or the First Advent of Christ, With His Life and Ministry. (104 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1874 No. 2. Redemption: or the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness. (96 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1877b No. 3. Redemption: or the Teachings of Christ, the Anointed One. (128 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1877c No. 4. Redemption: or the Miracles of Christ, the Mighty One. (126 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1877d No. 5. Redemption: or the Sufferings of Christ; His Trial and Crucifixion. (96 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1877e No. 6. Redemption: or the Resurrection of Christ; and His Ascension. (80 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1878 Apostles of Christ, No. 1. Redemption: or the Ministry of Peter and the Conversion of Saul. (78 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich.

1878a No. 2. Redemption: or the Teachings of Paul, and His Mission to the Gentiles. (80 pp.) Battle Creek, Mich. (A great deal of this material was later published in the book, Sketches from the Life of Paul. (1883)

1883 Sketches From the Life of Paul. Battle Creek, Mich.

1885 The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. Battle Creek, Mich. (This was the first ill. so called colporteur ed.)

1888 The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan During the Christian Dispensation. Oakland, Calif. (An improved ed. with an abundance of historical quotations in places. This ed. was completed after EGW's great European Tour.)

The most important of the present day EGW editions is the so called Conflict series, comprising five volumes. They are:

1890 Patriarchs and Prophets. Battle Creek.

1898 The Desire of Ages. Oakland Calif.

- 1900a Christ's Objects Lessons. Wash. D.C.
- 1900b Thoughts from the Mount of Blessings. Mountain View.
- 1911a The Acts of the Apostles. Mountain View, Calif. (This work was a belated substitute for Sketches From the Life of Paul, which for some reason was never reprinted in EGW's life time and not for decades after.)
- 1911 The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan in the Christian Dispensation. Mountain View, Calif. (The last revised ed.)
- 1917 The Story of Prophets and Kings. Mountain View, Calif. (The manuscript was practically finished at the death of the writer.)
- 1892 Steps to Christ. Chicago.
- 1903 Education. Oakland, Calif. (The revised ed. of EGW's writings the field of school work.)
- 1905 The Ministry of Healing. Mountain View, Calif.
- 1915a Gospel Workers. Oakland, Calif. (Improved ed. from 1892.)
- 1915 Life Sketches Of Ellen G. White. Mountain View, Calif. (This book essentially repeats what James and Ellen White had compiled about EGW in 1881. The striking difference is 1. the exclusion of the important role of J.W. 2. and a narrative of the last sickness of EGW and her funeral services.)
- 1923 Counsels on Health. Mountain View, Calif.
- 1923a Fundamentals of Christian Education. Nashville, Tennessee.

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- 1938 Counsels on Diet and Foods. Wash. D.C.
- 1946 Evangelism. Wash. D.C. (An excellent selection of EGW quotations on public evangelism.)
- 1946a Counsels to Writers and Editors. Wash. D.C.
- 1958 Selected Messages, Book I. Wash. D.C.
- 1958a Selected Messages, Book 2. Wash. D.C.
- 1966 The Southern Work. Wash. D.C. (Compilations of EGW articles on missions to colored people in the Southern States.)
- 1972 Revival and Beyond. Wash. D.C. (This compilation was made to counsel Adventists in reference to the new revivals, the Jesus People and the increasing Charismatic Movement.)

- 1905 Sabbath Readings for the Home. (Essays collected by EGW for reading on Sabbath with the assistance of M.A. Vroman.) Mountain View, Calif.

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V. Periodica.

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The Liberty 1906- (Washington D.C.)

Kommunikation 1969, 1975 (Adventist Forums, Denmark)

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Chapter Five

HEALTH-ADVENTISM's LEGACY TO THE WORLD

Health reform and the modern ideas about a "wholesome" diet have their roots in the American utopian reform ideas prior to the Civil War. Only in that environment could science and views referring to world betterment be welded to philosophical and religious sentiments. The ardent crusade for "biologic" living on earth, in harmony with nature's law could also be interpreted as a kind of "Innerweltliche Eschatologie" and might even be connected with Darwinism and world betterment concepts. It goes without saying that this Gospel of Health, with its inherent optimistic concepts, went contrary to the original Millerite-adventist ideas of irreparable misery and evil in the world, which merited God's speedy doom of mankind. With the acceptance of health reform a cool, rational influence entered into the apocalyptic movement. This development, or new start, was bound to change the course of the newly born sect the same year it was organized in 1863.

I. The American Ante-Bellum Health Reform Movement

One of the many facets of reform ferment in the Ante-Bellum American society was, therefore, dietary and health reform. Especially before 1865 most Americans were aware of the unsatisfactory methods the medical practitioners used. The prescription of poisonous drugs, such as mercury, strychnine and calomel had actually killed more people than it was supposed to cure (1). Even in the middle of the last century many important areas of medical science remained to be investigated; the science of bacteriology and nutrition were non-existent. In this twilight health reformers and fad-dists tried to solve urgent health problems.

The evil effects of the habitual use of alcohol were pointed out by e.g. Dr. Benjamin Rush, sometimes called the Father of American Psychiatry (2). Rush had fought hard spirits already in 1789, at a time when alcohol was quite generally looked upon as a beneficial agency, possessing medical values, especially needed for hard working men (3). In this campaign Rush appealed to the clergy to assist him, and in 1826 one of America's most influential clergyman, Dr. Lyman Beecher, delivered a series of lectures on temperance, his famous Six Sermons (4). In the wake of these early efforts arose a network of temperance societies. When the churches had once been awakened to understand their social responsibility, temperance work and efforts to protect Sunday as the day of rest were linked together. In 1837 the American Temperance Union changed its policy from a moderate plat-

(1) Cf. Walker 1955, pp.100-132.

(2) Clark 1968a, pp.201-205.

(3) Ibid

(4) Beecher 1826

form to total abstinence. The exemption of wine proved to be a mistake, since it led to an increase in wine consumption (5). Among Adventists the former sea captain Joseph Bates was a pioneer in temperance, and in 1827 he formed one of the nation's first societies in his home town, the Fairhaven Temperance Society (6).

Some reformers went even further in their zeal to ban also tobacco, and included even coffee and tea as harmful stimulants (7).

In order to get a correct understanding of temperance and diet reforms within the S D A Church since the mid-1860s, it is necessary to have a good working knowledge of vegetarianism and hydro-pathy in America in the first part of the 19th century.

It is generally held by experts that vegetarianism began in earnest in the United States about 1830, when Sylvester Graham, a secretarian "health doctor" and a Presbyterian minister, launched his reform crusade in New York and New England (8). Graham taught, that a "natural" diet, i.e. a wholly vegetarian menu, meant a better health and a long life to the human race. Fruits, grains, vegetables and nuts were staple articles in this diet. Dairy products were generally discarded, as well as all stimulants and most condiments (9).

An enormous attention was given to the preparation of the bread which since that time has been connected with Graham's name. He wrote: "Bread is decidedly the most important article of diet used by civilized man; and so intimately is it connected with the corporeal and moral (sic!) and intellectual interest of the human species, that it is scarcely possible to give too much attention to its kind and quality" (10). The best wheat, ground coarse and unbolten, should be used for this bread with "sweet lively yeast", baked to light, "sweet" bread, which should not be eaten until at least twelve hours old, preferably when much older (11).

Graham saw even a religious aspect in the making of his bread; the thrifty housewife who knew how to bake this bread, actually prepared the way for Christ (12). Since the bread should be made in the homes, and

(5) Calvin 1926, pp. 17-18, as in Clark 1968a, p. 212.

(6) Anderson 1972, pp. 104-113.

(7) So did for example Sylvester Graham, Gerrit Smith, Arthur Tappan, and R. T. Trall. Many of those comprehensive "Prize Essays" were composed before 1850. The world's most complete collection on tobacco is located in the New York Public Library.

(8) Walker 1955, passim. Lindén 1971, p. 143.

(9) Clark 1968a, p. 264.

(10) Graham 1833, p. 44.

(11) Ibm

(12) Linden 1971, pp. 143, 144.

not purchased in the bakeries, Graham met a hostile attitude also from the side of the bakers.

Sylvester Graham was a hard-core believer in his radical system and seems to have enjoyed combats with medical doctors and butchers (13). Today, schooled nutritionists do not hesitate to style him as one of the many influential food cultists. An expert in American medical history, Dr. Harvey Young, correctly remarks: "But Graham may be considered a cultist in carrying his ideas to doctrinaire extremes, ... Converted to a faith in dietary reform and a utopian monism, Graham bent all evidence to his single vegetarian purpose, biblical, historical, scientific, speculative" (14).

In the first place Graham was a born agitator.

John B. Blake, has shown that Graham's health reform ideas were derivative (14a).

Besides so called Graham houses or vegetarian hotels, societies for non-meat eaters were founded in the middle of the last century. Another pastor, William Metcalf, who had defended a vegetarian menu since 1821, also backed up this project (15). And there was a cluster of vegetarian leaders apart from those two. Suffice it here to mention some of the best known men, like William A. Alcott, John Smith, Dr. S. Larkin B. Coles, James C. Jackson and R. T. Trall. There were also "lady doctors" among those radicals, such as Jackson's adopted daughter, Harriet Austin, and the remarkable lecturer and feminist propagandist, Mary Gove. Several of these reformers influenced the later S D A health reform movement.

The concept of a connection between dietary reforms and moral improvement was defended by for example Dr. William A. Alcott in the *Moral Reformer* (16). Alcott also went to extremes in his zeal for a vegetarian diet and considered animal food to be "the root of all evil" (17). Larkin B. Coles was a medical practitioner in Boston and a fellow of its Medical Association. His *Philosophy of Life* went through numerous editions and saw its 24th edition in 1850. In comparison with Graham, Coles was a moderate man. He was one of the early scientists, who discovered a relation between the soul and the body (19). His health ideas can be expressed in a nutshell, since they reflect what many believed in as the "Gospel of Health."

(13) James Harvey Young in SSNF VIII, 1970, pp. 15-18. Walker 1955, pp. 52-53.

(14) SSNF VIII, 1970, p. 14. Italics supplied.

(14a) John Blake in RA 1974, p. 41.

(15) Robinson 1943, pp. 40, 41.

(16) Ibm, p. 41.

(17) Alcott 1838, pp. 236-239, as referred to in Clark 1968a, p. 261.

(18) Coles 1850, the title.

(19) Ibm, p. 30.

1. The diet should be simple and composed as to contain all elements necessary for the body. This meant a balanced lacto-vegetarian diet.
2. Fats and sugar should be avoided as much as possible.
3. The food ought to be palatable and tasty.
4. Fruits "of various kinds are proper articles of diet in connection with other food."
5. The flesh food sold in the market was "very far from being pure." Sick animals convey their diseases to man, when he partakes of the flesh.
6. A diet consisting largely of meat is unwholesome. The heavy meat-eaters subject themselves to "acute disease" and even "cancer can generally be tracked back, either mediately or immediately, so such an origin"(20).
7. Coles also believed in a pre-natal influence on the fetus. The mother could convey disease or "debility" to the child in the matrix prior to birth. Even the feelings and temperament of the mother during pregnancy could be transferred to the child (21).
8. Three meals per day were sufficient for all ages, including babies (22).
9. A cheerful disposition was essential for the best digestion of the food. Therefore Coles defended the right of a Christian to be happy (23).
10. To disregard the laws of nature in regard to diet and health was as wrong as transgressing the Ten Commandments (24).
11. Meat eating "tends to create a grossness of body and spirit", but vegetarianism enhanced eminence in religion, Coles continued (25).
12. The use of alcohol, coffee and tea, as well as tobacco was condemned, but cacao was exempted from this ban (26).
13. Regular exercise, proper rest and a sound sleep on an empty stomach on a hard bed, and regular bathing were other items in the program (27).
14. Those who worked hard in the open air, however, could eat some meat. Fish and fowl should not be classed with the flesh from domestic animals (28).

(20) Ibm, pp.30-43.

(21) Ibm, pp.58,59.

(22) Ibm, p.63. Other reformers like Jackson and Trall were more emphatic in their two meal per day propaganda.

(23) Coles 1850, pp.88-90. C. held that not least ministers needed some merriment to preserve their mental health.

(24) Ibm, pp.94,95.

(25) Ibm, pp.41,42.

(26) Ibm, pp.49-57.

(27) Ibm, pp.33,34,79-83.

(28) Ibm, pp.39-46.

15. Like most writers of his day, such as Sylvester Graham, Coles believed in the supposed harmfulness of masturbation, which was said to waste the vital force of both men and women (29).

As was typical in the health prophets, Coles considered his system almost inspired. To him Philosophy of Health nearly opened the portals of paradise to mankind, when the ideas were put into practice. The concepts of diet reform helped to achieve the American dream of a reformed society. It is evident, therefore, that Graham's and Coles' ideas could be integrated in different systems of thought. Both secular reformers and religious holiness preachers could include the ascetic ideas in their religion.

John Smith, another of America's early MDs to support the vegetarian regime, in 1854 composed a heavy book on the "Original, Natural and Best Diet of Man" (30). He was assisted by R. T. Trall, the nation's best known hydropathist. A typical element in Smith's work is its anatomical approach. Anatomy was included at great length to illustrate the physiological functions and to prove that a vegetarian diet best corresponded to the needs of man (31). Vegetarianism was also recommended on ethical grounds: it is demoralizing for man to kill the innocent animals to provide food for himself, he remarked (32). A central chapter in the book taught that "vegetables contain all the elements and qualities necessary for the complete nutrition of man" (33). Finally Smith tried to show from the annals of history the advantages of a non-meat diet witnessed by certain groups and individuals (34). Smith's dependence on Graham and Trall is evident in several respects. As was typical in health reformers, Smith used a language that was so difficult to grasp for the average reader that a long list of explanations had to be added to the book.

Dr. James C. Jackson deserves some special attention in this chapter, in consideration of his influence on the Adventists. For on two occasions, before the group had established a health resort of its own, did the Whites and some other top administrators visit Jackson's institution in Dansville, New York (35). Jackson, too, was a radical proponent of the "natural" remedies and thoroughly detested drugs and chemical medicines. He commented: "In my entire practice I have never given a dose of medicine; not so much as I should have taken the homeopathic pellet of the seven millionth dilution, and dissolving it in Lake Superior, given patients its waters..."(36).

(29) Ibm, pp.86-89.

(30) Smith 1854.

(31) Ibm, pp.53-110.

(32) Ibm, pp.111-123.

(33) Ibm, pp.127-157.

(34) Ibm, pp.157-191.

(35) Health or How to Live, I, 1865, pp.12,13. (HHL) RH, Nov.22, 1864.

(36) Jackson 1868, pp.25,26, as quoted in Robinson 1943, pp.29,30.

Jackson summarized his health Credo in one condensed paragraph: "I have used in the treatment of my patients, the following substances or instrumentalities: First, air; second, food; third, water; fourth, sunlight; fifth, dress; sixth, exercise; seventh, sleep; eighth, rest; ninth, social influences; tenth, mental and moral forces" (37).

The sectarian doctors heralded a new day in the field of diet and medical care. However, we are not ignorant of the fact that there were many regular doctors, who also discarded the dangerous drug prescription, but they were more cautious and did not voice their ideas with the same frenzy as the health reformers (38). Hopefully the student has already observed that both Graham and Coles were practicing Christians; Graham was a Presbyterian, and Coles had even been connected with William Miller's movement (39). A more brilliant star on America's religious horizon in reference to health reform was, of course, Charles Grandison Finney. At times he explicitly recommended Sylvester Graham's major works to his ministerial brethren (40). Finney, like later EGW, saw a spiritual importance in health reform and even made the apostle Paul a health reformer (41). At Finney's Oberlin College physiological reform was promoted for some time after 1835. Oberlin professors their took an active part in dietary reform and organized a so called

(37) Ibm. J. took a great interest in "appropriate" dancing as a means of promoting health. Cf. Jackson n.d. *Dancing: Its Evils and Its Benefits*. NPL. N.Y. J. remarked:

"... no stretch of the imagination which I can exercise will at all cover the amount of mischief which has resulted to the people of the United States from the teachings of the Puritans on the subject of recreations and amusements. The position they took, and the fidelity with which they illustrated it, have been of fatal influence to the lives of hundreds and thousands of persons; and to-day, the notions which the religious portion of the people of the United States hold, and the feeling which they cherish, toward recreations and amusements, public and private, ... tend greatly to the production of disease, and, in a large number of cases, actually become the great provoking and exciting causes of severe sickness, frequently resulting in death."

Jackson 1862, p.189. Cf. Ibm, pp.199,200.

John Blake, *Proceedings of the American Phil. Society*, Vol.106, 1962, pp.219-234.

(38) Ibm. in RA 1974, p.43. Dr. W.F.Noarwood, Jan.15, 1973. Author's interview with Dr. Noorwood.

(39) Jerome L. Clark 1968a, p.261. Numbers 1976, p.59.

(40) *Health Journal and Advocate of Physiological Reform*, Jan.4, 1840, p.1.

(41) Ibm.

Physiological Society. The original settlers there subscribed to "wholesome food" and were known as total abstainers, who even left coffee and tea alone (42).

II. EGW and Health Reform

Needless to say, health reform was firmly established in America already in the 1830s. The Adventists and EGW were, therefore, not the originators of this new lifestyle, but simply the receivers of the radical notions.

It is certainly difficult to determine exactly to what extent members in the S D A Church knew of the reform sentiments prior to June 5, 1863, when EGW experienced her first important health vision. Dr. Ronald Numbers (43) and members in the Ellen G. White Estate (43a) arrive at different conclusions here. However, since some of the leaders had been subscribers to popular health reform journals for years prior to 1863, at least some Adventists might have possessed a good working knowledge of this school of thought (44). Moreover, the Whites were extremely fortunate as officials at the headquarters, where James White selected items from the health publications for the *Review*, before June 1863. The total number of such extracts was six (44a).

The possibility can, therefore, not be ruled out that the Whites knew much more of health reform prior to June 5, 1863, than they ever admitted. We must moreover not forget that as a prophet EGW could never admit dependence on human sources for her revelations. Only after she had completed the essays in 1864-1865, she declared how surprised she was to find how very nearly other health publications expressed her views (45).

This attitude is commonplace in all prophets of modern times; and there are many parallels in EGW, not least from the shut door period, when she confirmed the views of her brethren, and yet always maintained that her views derived from higher sources.

In this chapter we shall analyse the contents of EGW's Gospel of Health and examine how her ideas related to her better known predecessors. It is also of interest to know how the utopian reform sentiment could be integrated in a religious movement. Besides we shall pay some attention to the development of EGW's health teaching over the years, as to whether they were identical or changed.

(42) Jerome L. Clark 1968a, p.267.

(43) Numbers 1976, chs.2-3. The correct date of the vision is June 5, 1863. Cf. Numbers 1976, note 11, p.231.

(43a) *White Estate Critique* 1976, pp.47-51.

(44) Numbers 1976, pp.80 f.

(44a) Robinson 1943, p.64.

(45) RH, Oct.8, 1867, p.260.

In the formative years of the movement, EGW did not pay much attention to vegetarianism and health reform. On the contrary she then lived as "a great meat-eater" (46) When some more progressive believers advanced the notion of an immediate introduction of this novel regimen, EGW turned them down, on the ground, that the time had not yet dawned for such a radical move.

Moreover, we also noted how the Whites and the unorganized Sabbatarian Adventists, for better or for worse, in the early years shunned "earthly physicians" and relied solely on prayer for their recovery. On one occasion the young EGW had even sent out visions in which she claimed that it was wrong to consult medical doctors and not follow the instructions in James five and pray for the sick, who then would "be healed" (48). The young prophetess also acted on this advice on several occasions in the formative period of the church. Thus, when James White suffered from "chole-*ra*" in 1850, she had anointed him with oil and prayed for his recovery, which evidently happened (49). Gradually this negative attitude to the doctors became routine among the believers, for in 1853 Anna White, a near relative to James White wrote: "I am now living with a people who believe that God is able and willing to heal the sick now, and who when sick, apply nowhere else for help" (50).

However, not every sick member was healed. Some who might very well have been restored to health, had their sought medical treatment, died, despite prayer and the special anointment (51). Wise from such tragic cases (52) EGW in 1860 definitely reversed her previous teaching and declared that in some cases "the counsel of an earthly physician" was very necessary. And the undaunted prophetess added that she had "always held" that view (53). Such surprising manœuvres, however, are not rare in charismatic witnesses. Only gradually did EGW reveal a real interest in health reform ideas. The road to vegetarianism started with "temperance" and her tabooing of tobacco, tea, and coffee (54). In this field she had many

(46) White 1885a, p. 371.

(47) White 1885, p. 206 f.

(48) To Those Who Receive the Seal of the Living God. Broadside. Topsham, Me. Jan. 31, 1849.

(49) EGW to Brother and Sister Howland, Aug. 15, 1850. WEA. Wash. D. C.

(50) Numbers 1976, p. 33.

(51) *Ibm*, p. 35. The man with the sharp scythe also took a heavy toll among the Sabbatarians. Even close relatives to the Whites died early, so e.g. Nathaniel White in the summer of 1853.

(52) Already in 1854 EGW consulted "an earthly physician" at Rochester, N. Y. Cf. White 1860, pp. 185-188.

(53) *Ibm*, p. 135, also quoted in Numbers 1976, p. 35 f.

(54) White Estate Critique 1976, pp. 53 f.

colleagues and noble predecessors (55). Insofar as the practice of health reform was concerned, other believers, such as Joseph Bates and the Kelloggs, were more advanced than the White family. And yet her decision "to take up the cross" of health reform and follow in the footprints of the health reformers was no minor act. For EGW was not merely the wife of the most prestigious administrator, but also the spokesman for the God in Israel. For who would have cared, if she, in her capacity as Adventism's first lady, had referred merely to Drs. Jackson and Coles? Most likely, this campaign would then never been even half as successful. EGW moreover introduced the health program at a time, when the group was ready to listen. Good charismatic leaders possess such faculties.

In 1864-1865 EGW published first a general outline of health reform, called, *Health*, and then in 1865 six essays, mainly compilations from the reformers were included in *Health: Or How to Live*. This first volley of arrows from her bow was concluded with the remarkable booklet, *An Appeal to Mothers* in 1864. This pamphlet discussed masturbation. At the end of that booklet the editors had included extracts in the same vein health reformers and phrenologists. But EGW definitely claimed the "copy-right", or visionary authority for her contributions.

As was fitting in a holiness prophet, EGW introduced her first essay on health reform by referring to the Bible. Thus she opened with a comparison between man prior and after the Fall. In Eden Adam and Eve "were noble in stature, and perfect in symmetry and beauty (56). Since then, however, the "human family have violated the laws of health", and excess is seen practically everywhere (56a). This miserable state had happened, mainly because of unrestricted meat-eating. Appetite had caused man's physical and spiritual ruin. God had permitted man to eat meat after the Flood, "to shorten their sinful lives" (57). All kinds of "flesh food" were hurtful, but worst of all was pork. For this reason she warned against pork on two occasions in *Health*. EGW instructed:

"God expressly commanded the children of Israel not to eat swine's flesh. The heathen used this as an article of food. God prohibited the Hebrews the use of swine's flesh because it was hurtful. It would fill the system with humors, and in that warm climate often produced leprosy." (58)

Like the health reformers EGW looked upon the pigs as scavengers, which took care of everything that decayed (59). In a second remark in *Health*, EGW sharpened the attacks on the porkeaters, and added that

(55) Lindén 1971, p. 142.

(56) White 1864, p. 120.

(56a) *Ibm*

(57) *Ibm*, p. 121.

(58) *Ibm*, p. 124. Italics added.

(59) *Ibm*

pork consumption produces "scrofula, leprosy and cancerous humors" (60). "Pork-eating is still causing the most intense suffering to the human race", whe concluded (61).

These arguments are, indeed, somewhat startling, when we know how the Whites had reasoned in the opposite vein, only a few years earlier (62).

Then EGW went on to deal with the "stimulating drinks." Referring to Aaron's wayward sons, Nadab and Abihu, she demonstrated how easily individuals could be deceived by the thought that "ale was of so much benefit to them", whereas the moderate drinker gradually loses control of his inbibing of the soft drinks, "until they give themselves up to every excess, and degrade themselves "lower than the beasts" (63). In a special way she attacked the "slow poison" of tobacco, which even clergymen used. Multitudes, who had fallen victims to this poison, could hardly expect eternal life (64). Consistently EGW argued in physiological lines as the reformers (65). This middle portion in *Health* ended with a short but forceful attack on tea and coffee. Let alone the medical harm of the popular stimulations, EGW concluded with some religious overtones:

"Those who indulge a perverted appetite, do it to the injury of health and intellect. They cannot appreciate the value of spiritual things. Their sensibilities are blunted, and sin does not appear very sinful, and truth is not regarded of greater value than earthly treasure." (66)

From the beginning, therefore, EGW interpreted the health reform in religious categories.

Obviously the health reformers looked at the world through coloured glasses, and considered even the ordinary American meal, with meat, fish, gravy, spices, sugar and a few cakes to be a morbid fare. Most likely such persons were styled as "slaves to a gluttonous appetite", for whom there were no bright prospects in view (67). Because of "intemperance in eating and drinking", the world had reached a state reminding EGW of that in Sodom and Gomorrah (68).

(60) White 1864, p. 146.

(61) *Ibm*

(62) *Present Truth*, Nov. 1850, pp. 87, 88.

(63) White 1864, pp. 127 f.

(64) *Ibm*, pp. 126-128.

(65) Linden 1971, pp. 79, 80. The nonvisionary works were older than EGW's essays. Numbers 1976, pp. 232 f. Cf. Trall 1857. Shew 1857. Baldwin 1857.

(66) White 1864, p. 129.

(67) *Ibm*, p. 131.

(68) *Ibm*.

Another important section in *Health* discussed the grave consequences in the common drug medication (69). Speaking like a homeopath or a health reformer, EGW reiterated that "drugs never cure disease" (70). The relatively long passage contained the following famous saying: "A branch was presented before me bearing large flat seeds. Upon it was written, *Nux vomica*, *strychnine*. Beneath was written, *No antidote*" (71). This pathetic description may have been very much in order at this time, in the 1860s, even if we know that also the regular doctors then had definite commenced to give up this dangerous form of medicine (72).

In her first contribution to health reform EGW was eager to include as many aspects as possible in her article; therefore, she also made a note of the value of sunshine and fresh air in the rooms, day and night. And bodily exercise was mentioned as a remedy for "invalids." Moreover she also touched on hydropathy. "Upon raising in the morning, most persons would be benefited by taking a sponge-bath, or, if more agreeable, a hand-bath, with merely a wash-bowl of water" (73). Indeed, this benevolent reformer gave the Adventists even detailed instructions how to live as born again reformers (74). Before the closing notes in the lines on health and sanctification, EGW seems to have drawn heavily on the presentations by her more prestigious reform doctors in regard to the cruel treatment of the animals prior to their killing in the American slaughtering houses. Quite correctly she noted how the state of the animals before they were killed to a large extent determined the quality of the flesh (75). Health reform ought to pave the way for the "message." EGW declared:

"He (God) requires them to abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul, and present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, . . . God requires of man to make earnest efforts, and deny self, that he may preserve his vigor of mind, and elevate himself, and imitate the example of him in whom was no guile. Then will he be benefited with the atonement of Christ." (76)

(69) White 1864, pp. 134-136.

(70) White 1964, p. 134.

(71) *Ibm*, p. 138. Today we know that there are good cures for this drug.

(72) Numbers 1976, pp. 72, 111.

(73) White 1864, p. 143.

(74) White 1964, pp. 126-148. *Ibm*. 1865-1865e, *passim*.

(75) White 1864, pp. 147, 148. Dr. Jackson had earlier enlarged on the same problems, about disease in animals, but more forcefully. Cf. HHL 1865, pp. 21-31.

(76) White 1864, p. 149. Italics supplied. We note how EGW connected "fleshly lusts" with meat consumption. Moreover, she partly expressed a Catholic view of sanctification.

The following year, in 1865, EGW appeared in the midst of some leading American health reformers (77). The best known of the more prominent reformers, such as James C. Jackson, Larkin B. Coles, and R.T. Trall were represented, and EGW wrote six essays in a series of pamphlets, called *Health: Or How to Live* (78). The thinking student, of course, wonders why she of her editors chose this method. Presumably the Whites did so in order to mitigate anticipated criticism, as to her dependence on the health reformers. For then it could be said that the Whites certainly did not deny their knowledge of the reformers. But no matter which way they turned, criticism was unavoidable.

EGW's series was called "Disease and Its Causes." The first essay being mainly a repetition of *Health* (79). The second contribution was primarily concerned with "family planning" (80). Though not by any means as radical as Frances Wright, who propagated for the whole battery of women's rights, EGW, too, wanted to improve the plight of woman, especially in regard to the burden of the unrestricted pregnancies (81).

The thrust of her ideas can be summed up in a few sentences. She burst out:

"Parents should not increase their families any faster than they know that their children can be well cared for, and educated. A child in the mother's arms from year to year is great injustice to her. . . Fathers, especially, are manifesting less care for wife and children than that shown to their cattle." (82)

The overwhelming problem in reference to the large families, however, was not words and propaganda, but workable means of contraception. For in EGW's time the coitus interruptus, or else total abstinence were the only methods within easy reach. Despite such self-evident remarks, we should not overlook the benevolence and progressive mind in the charismatic leader. She was certainly much more than an otherworldly mystic; for EGW lived very intensively with her people and shared their every day problems. In her concern about the small families she was, indeed, ahead of many of her contemporaries.

The third essay was entirely devoted to a fairly lengthy criticism of drug medicine (83). Again this presentation was a repetition and enlargement of passage in *Health*. The planning of this essay was not particularly

- (77) White 1900, pp.205,206.
- (78) HHL 1865, pp.51-60; HHL 1865a, pp.25-48; HHL 1865b, pp.49-64; HHL 1865c, 54-64; HHL 1865d, pp.66-74; HHL 1865e, 57-64.
- (79) HHL 1865, pp.51-600.
- (80) HHL 1865a, pp.25-48.
- (81) HHL 1865a, pp.31-40.
- (82) HHL 1865a, p.30. Cf. infra. ch.4, pp.266ff.
- (83) HHL 1865b, pp.49-64. By this radical tenet EGW also discarded the useful "drugs".

well done; the many "snapshots", in the form of visions, make the reading tedious, and sometimes hardly logical (84). The main burden of the article was to contrast the hazardous effects of the narcotics or drugs with those of nature's own remedies: fresh air, soft, pure water, a vegetarian diet, and other benevolent helps for the protection of health (85).

Another inexpensive and marvellous remedy for sick souls and bodies was hydropathy or water treatments. In her fourth essay EGW wrote to some extent on this topic (86). Modern specialists would presumably discern one of EGW's most important contribution in this field of general hygiene. In regard to the value of fresh air in the houses EGW, like the health reformers, knew of no limits in her dedication of this heavenly gift. "Fresh air will prove more beneficial to the sick than medicine, and is far more essential than their food" (87), she wrote off in the vein of her mentors.

The closing installments in the series, discussed female dress reform (88). This ardent interest was kindled in the heart of the prophetess, when she visited Dr. Jackson's health spa, Our Home on the Hillside, at Dansville, New York. Promotion of the "reform dress" was a sensitive field to operate in, however. For with the so-called reform dress went radical overtones as to women's rights, and perhaps spiritualism, ideas that EGW shunned like the plague (89). But she did the best thing under the circumstances and eventually came out with a variety of the "American costume" or the controversial "bloomer" creation. Insofar as one can judge after the event, all extant photographs reveal how ugly EGW's visionary reform dress was, even when compared with the other radical "short" dresses (90). No wonder then, if the more critical Adventist, both females and males, felt embarrassed to the extent that EGW eventually had to give up the promotion for this important "ribbon of blue" for the saints (91). As in most cases,

- (84) HHL 1865b, pp.51-57. At first EGW enumerated a series of tragic death, caused by the poisonous drugs, and then, when the drugs had proved completely useless and even killing, the sectarian "reform doctor" takes over a case and also gives a summary of his knowledge of Nature's healing qualities. HHL 1865b, p.57.
- (85) HHL 1865b, pp.57-64.
- (86) HHL 1865c, pp.54-64.
- (87) HHL 1865c, p.55.
- (88) HHL 1865d et e, pp.66-74, 57-64.
- (89) White 1885, p.421. She declared: "Those who feel called but to join the movement in favor of women's rights and the so-called dress reform might as well sever all connection with the third angel's message." *Ibm*.
- (90) Numbers 1976, pp.130-138. Tyler 1962, pp.436-442.
- (91) White 1885, pp.524-425. EGW placed a very great weight on the "reform dress" as a distinctive mark in the world. The dress EGW had "patented" for must be used. Sisters were not allowed to make patterns to suit their "own particular ideas." Cf. Numbers, 1976, p.143.

EGW had an inborn common sense and could modify her teaching with new revelations (92).

The sociologist, to be sure, takes some definite interest in this episode of the "reform dress" for the Adventist remnant. For such components are generally interpreted as a usual element in the world of sectarian believers, who by their insistence on minor things, *adiaphora*, find a useful instrument for separating the faithful from the wicked world around them. Such traits have always followed the protesting sects (93).

An Appeal to Mothers, with the subtitle, The Great Cause of the Physical Mental, and Moral Ruin of Many of the Children of Our Time, appeared already in 1864, but considering its contents, it is logical to treat this publication separately. Appeal to Mothers, which for years was an unknown book even among members, has only recently been distributed in a photographic reprint together with other EGW "exhibits" (94). Appeal to Mothers presented a very conventional view of the "secret vice" (95). EGW instructed:

"I have been shown that children who practice self-indulgence previous to puberty, or the period of merging into manhood and womanhood, must pay the penalty of nature's violated laws at that critical period. Many sink into an early grave, while others have sufficient force of constitution to pass this ordeal. If the practice is continued from the ages of fifteen and upward, nature will protest against the abuse she has suffered, and continues to suffer, and will make them pay the penalty for the transgression of her laws, especially from the ages of thirty to forty-five, by numerous pains in the system, and various diseases, such as affection of the liver and lungs, neuralgia, rheumatism, affection of the spine, diseased kidneys, and cancerous humors... there is often a sudden breaking down of the constitution, and death is the result." (96)

(92) Cf. Numbers 1976, pp. 145-147.

(93) Most utopian sects in America revealed some peculiar ways in their clothing. The Shakers had their own style, and so did the Quakers and the Ephratists. Cf. Tyler 1962, pp. 148, 162.

(94) White Estate Critique 1976, App. C. pp. 100-110.

(95) Cf. e.g. Sylvester Graham, L.B. Coles, James C. Jackson, Mary Gove Nichols, and the leading phrenologist in America, O.S. Fowler and Dr. Wm. C. Woodbridge, superintendent of the Massachusetts Lunatic Hospital. Cf. also Numbers 1976, pp. 150-154.

(96) White Estate Critique 1976, App. C. p. 104. Italics supplied. Cf. *infra*. p. 267ff.

Masturbators, according to EGW were actually self-murderers, who squandered "the vital force of their constitution" (97). Such terms are revealing. As Nissenbaum and others have shown, the theory of the vital force, or a limited capital of life-giving energy which could not be restored, was located in the brain, and diminished with each orgasm. There was no difference between the sexes in this respect. Indeed, the women apparently were even more sensitive as to the loss of their "vital force." For this reason orgasms in females were unwholesome. EGW knew this and went on:

"Females possess less vital force than the other sex, and are deprived very much of the bracing, invigorating air, by their indoors life. The result of self-abuse (onani) in them is seen in various diseases, such as catarrh, dropsy, headache, loss of memory and sight, great weakness in the back and loins, affections of the spine, the head often decays inwardly. Cancerous humor, which would lay dormant in the system their life-time, is inflamed, and commences its eating, destructive work. The mind is often utterly ruined, and insanity takes place." (98)

A comparison of the two quotations demonstrates several striking similarities; but, to be sure, the prospects in women masturbators were even more horrifying (99).

In her characteristic colorful style she contended:

"Everywhere I looked, I saw imbecility, dwarfed forms, crippled limbs, misshapen heads, and deformity of every description. Sins and crimes, and the violation of nature's laws, were shown me as the causes of this accumulation of human woe and suffering." (1)

Since EGW believed in such horrors it is understandable, if she appealed most earnestly to mothers and others to watch anxiously for signs of masturbation in their children. To this end she warned parents not to let their children sleep with their playmates, in the same room, or even play with suspected children from the street (2). The children were to learn the lesson of "submitting their wills" to their parents (3). Not only did the masturbators risk their health and mortal life, but, besides, they were self-

(97) *Ibm*, p. 106. Emphasis added.

(98) *Ibm*. Emphasis added.

(99) Numbers 1976, pp. 150-154.

(1) White Estate Critique 1976, p. 104. Emphasis added. The introductory phrase, which is a typical hyperbole, was not unusual in EGW. Cf. e.g. White 1865b, p. 51.

(2) White Estate Critique 1976, pp. 103-105.

(3) *Ibm*, p. 102.

murderers, and as such destined to lose the eternal hope (4). Meat, dairy products, and spices "inflamm[e] the animal passions", EGW taught (5). Therefore, the mothers were recommended to "train" their children "in reference to the laws of life" (6). It would be incorrect to claim that EGW in this "Appeal" did not refer to the Gospel or to the saving power of Jesus Christ, but more prominent still were the mementos to every individual to make a right use of the power of the will. "All have power to control their actions, if they will", she declared (7). This idea, which is commonplace in EGW (8), was an integral part in American holiness religion.

All health reformers were more or less hard-core converts to their system of health, despite the fact that they all borrowed heavily from others and in most points presented the same views. Despite extreme views and several mistakes, the reform doctors were, indeed, much in advance of their time, particularly in regard to nutrition and hygiene. Their heavy attacks on the popular drug medicine were important, despite a tendency to distrust all kinds of medicine.

Since EGW had no schooling in anatomy and physiology, but had to rely on the work of the reformers for her terminology, she evidently used a language which sometimes is obsolete today. Thus she often spoke of her example of "impure" blood (8). To be sure, she and other reformers in places went to extremes, possibly in order to get a hearing (9).

In addition to her outspoken ideas as to the alleged effects of masturbation, where most medical authorities today would differ with her, the early writings on health in particular reveal some unscientific ideas, which then were commonly believed. For example, EGW considered "decayed vegetable matter on the premises," the direct cause of dangerous diseases. She instructed:

"There is constantly arising from these decaying substances an effluvia that is poisoning the air. By inhaling the impure air, the blood is poisoned, the lungs become affected, and the whole system is diseased. Disease of almost every description will be caused by inhaling the atmosphere affected by these decaying substances. . . . The impurities about their own premises have brought upon them contagious diseases, and the sad afflictions which they charge upon God." (10)

- (4) *Ibm*, p. 106.
- (5) *Ibm*, p. 104. Cf. Numbers 1976, p. 75. Trall 1853.
- (6) *White Estate Critique* 1976, pp. 104 f.
- (7) *Ibm*, p. 107.
- (8) *White* 1864, pp. 126, 133. *White* 1885c, p. 141.
- (9) As a convinced reformer EGW often used hyperboles in her propaganda. Such instances are so common that it is superfluous to quote single cases, but cf. *White* 1864, pp. 120-151; *Ibm*. 1865a-f.
- (10) *White* 1864, p. 141. Italics supplied.

Those speculations EGW entertained before the advent of modern bacteriology. In 1864, moreover, EGW believed that dry leaves were dangerous to the health (11).

Beliefs, nurtured in a sort of folk lore also appealed to the prophetess at times. Thus she taught that sick men generally become well, when they marry healthy women; whereas the latter get weak (12). And old men, who marry young women, likewise benefit from this union (13). Sometimes EGW went even further. Dr. Numbers shows a typical example of such beliefs in reference to EGW's view of the alleged baleful effects from wearing a wig in females. EGW wrote in the *Health Reformer*:

"The artificial hair and pads covering the base of the brain, heat and excite the spinal nerves centering in the brain. The head should ever be kept cool. The heat caused by these artificials induces the blood to the brain. The action of the blood upon the lower or animal organs of the brain, causes unnatural activity, tends to recklessness in morals, and the mind and heart is in danger of being corrupted. As the animal organs are excited, the morals are enfeebled. The moral and intellectual powers of the mind become servants to the animal. . . . Many have lost their reasons, and become hopelessly insane, by following this deforming fashion." (14)

This quotation tells us a great deal of EGW's position as to phrenology. The paragraphs show beyond doubt that EGW did not only use the terms that were commonplace in her times, she also shared the philosophy underneath some of those expressions. EGW thus believed that unnatural heat at the back prodded the "animal organs", or the sex urge. Only this view, so typical in phrenologists, explains why she linked this phenomenon to "recklessness in morals" (15).

EGW's three early publications on health leave us with the reflection that somehow she must have been familiar with the ideas of the health reformers. *Health and Health: Or How to Live* are, indeed, compendia of their teachings. As a "prophetess of health" EGW lived in the mainstream of American health reform. A more difficult assignment refers to her literary indebtedness to single works. But we do note that the moderate doctor, Larkin B. Coles, was one of her favourites (16).

- (11) *Ibm*, p. 144.
- (12) *White* 1865a, p. 28 f. Mesmerists entertained similar ideas.
- (13) *Ibm*, p. 29.
- (14) *The Health Reformer*, May 1871, p. 266, as quoted in Numbers 1876, p. 149.
- (15) For a full description of EGW and phrenology, cf. Numbers 1976, pp. 90, 91, 94, 148-150, 202.
- (16) EGW frequently referred to this doctor in her selections from nonvisionary writers in *Health*; or *How to Live*. Cf. Numbers 1976, *passim*.

It is also significant in this connection to know that the first readers of EGW's early publications on health soon gave vent to their reactions in the same vein. When the direct question was asked, as to whether she had read other works on health, before she sent out her own works, she eventually had to give an answer. The very fact that these questions were asked show how well read many members were in the field of health reform, before EGW had published anything in this genre. In 1867 EGW therefore gave the following explanation:

"As I introduced the subject of health to friends where I worked in Michigan, New England, and in the State of New York, ... the reply was often made, 'You speak very nearly the opinions taught in the Laws of Life, and other publications by Drs. Trall, Jackson and others. Have you read that paper and those works?' My reply was that I had not, neither should I read them till I had fully written out my views, lest it should be said that I had received my light upon the subject of health from physicians, and not from the Lord." (17)

In consideration of her office as an enlightened charismatic leader EGW of course, could not admit that she was influenced by the health reformers for her views (18). This time, however, the impact from the health reformers was so great that she admitted a direct indebtedness for her health teachings after 1865. She was "surprised", though, to find how very near the publications of the reformers agreed with her own views. For this reason she later made a rich use of those writings (19).

At the same time EGW mentioned that the Whites had ordered a good amount of popular health reform books as early as September 1863. However, these works were not consulted for EGW's three early publications, for those books "remained in their wrappers" (20). Ronald Numbers has looked into this controversial field. On circumstantial evidence he proves that James White wrote Jackson in June 1863, in the very month EGW experienced her first vision on health (21). After a careful examination of the available documents, this writer has arrived at the same conclusion. In fact, members in the Ellen G. White Estate do not exclude the possibility that EGW was in error in regard to the time her husband dispatched the letter to Dansville, but as to EGW's motive for the incorrect date, the parties differ widely. The White Estate suggests a normal slip in EGW's memory (22).

(17) RH, Oct. 8, 1867, p. 260.

(18) Ibm

(19) Ibm

(20) Ibm

(21) Numbers 1976, pp. 84 f.

(22) White Estate Critique 1976, p. 52f.

Despite the absolute authority for the new meatless diet and a great deal of promotion, the radical changes in matters pertaining to diet did not come easy to everybody. And the household of the prophet was no exception (23). Theoretically EGW's instruction was clear and demanding; the label of "fanatic" was reserved for others, but, in fact, she herself used the language of the "food cultists" from time to time, as any reader of her early works will find. But theory is one thing, and practice often another thing. One can easily note, that for years in some periods, EGW evidently failed to live up to her own health "teachings" (24).

Insofar as we can determine the case from the documents, EGW certainly tried to live as a vegetarian in America. But there were several exceptions, even there in the 1870s (25). And when she in the following decade visited Europe, where the vegetarian diet was more scarce, she may have given up vegetarianism to a large extent (26). And when she arrived in Australia in 1891, she was according to Kellogg a "regular meat-eater" (27). This unsatisfactory attitude in the prophet was like a thorn in the side to Dr. Kellogg (28). Ironically, one might say, a Roman Catholic sister influenced EGW to give up her weakness for the animal diet at a camp-meeting in Australia in January 1894 (29). After that event, however, we have no reliable sources to show that she again faltered in matters of diet.

At this juncture, the reader should know that EGW in her writings never denounced some use of Kosher food, when there was a good reason for condoning this diet. Members with "weak digestive organs" had a right to include "clean" meat in their food (30). In rare cases she even recommended some sick members to add some white bread and a sip of wine in their diet to give them a new start (31). But such dispensations were not representative for the main cores of her health teachings. For where vegetables were within

(23) Lindén 1971, p. 147. Numbers 1976, pp. 171 f.

(24) But after the new start in January 1894, when a "Catholic woman" pleaded with her to give up all meat consumption, she seems to have left the "meat pots of Egypt" for the rest of her life. Cf. Lindén 1971, p. 147, note 60.

(25) Numbers 1976, pp. 171-173.

(26) While she visited Sweden the kind hostess served delicate fish and meat dishes. EGW Diary, Oct. 25-27, 1885. WEA. Wash. D.C.

(27) Kellogg to P. T. Magan, Jan. 18, 1941. The Magan Papers, LLUA, Loma Linda, Calif. But at least in public EGW never admitted such failures, for with great certainty she stated:
"It is reported by some that I have not followed the principles of health reform as I have advocated them with my pen; but I can say that I have been a faithful health reformer. Those who have been members of my family know that this is true."
White 1909, p. 159.

(28) Numbers 1976, p. 169-174.

(29) White Letter 73a, 1896, as quoted in Nichol 1951, pp. 388, 389.

(30) The Youth's Instructor, May 31, 1894. White 1885a, p. 384 f.

(31) White 1885a, p. 384.

easy reach and not exorbitantly expensive, there was no excuse for not being vegetarians. As we have shown in several instances EGW followed in the steps of the health reformers and denounced the animal products primarily on physiological grounds. Meat and dairy products were harmful and shortened human lives. But that was not all. Meat, butter and eggs influenced man's "animal organs" and stimulated to sexual intercourse or the "secret vice." Suffice it here to mention that EGW and many health reformers maintained that the regular meat-eater deranged and harmed 1. his health, 2. his brain and the ability to think logically and clearly, and 3. weakened his spiritual and moral powers (32). Quite consistently then EGW taught that one of the conditions for eternal life in the last generation was to abstain completely from meat and some dairy products (33). Health reform then became an instrument for sifting the remnant and prepare them for the final translation into heaven.

Needless to mention, EGW was likewise adamant in her teaching in reference to alcohol and common beverages, such as tea and coffee. With L.B. Coles she made an exception for drinking chocolate, however (34). But "tea and coffee drinking is a sin", she declared (35).

It remains to discuss the problem of the Old Testament Kosher rules. Being a pragmatic, EGW under certain circumstances condoned the use of only "clean" meat. A stalwart like Dr. Kellogg never accepted this exception to the rule. We also know that the Whites before 1863 had defended the normal American diet including a good amount of meat and pork. In 1850 James White had defended this position against some protesting brethren, who had read in the O.T. that the swine was an "unclean" animal. Referring to the N.T., however, he rejected that notion (36). Somewhat later in 1859 EGW refused to listen to the suggestion of proscribing pork as an "unclean animal." The time had not yet come for such a move, she explained (37). After the important health vision in June 1863, the only consistent position

(32) White 1864, pp. 120-147; White 1885b, p. 487; White 1885a, pp. 60, 62, 486; *Ibm*, p. 352; White 1938, p. 382. White 1885a, p. 362. Numbers sees the influence of EGW's favorite, L.B. Coles in this position. Cf. Numbers 1976, p. 162.

(33) White 1938, pp. 380, 381.

(34) There are no entries on "cacao" or "chocolate" in the Comprehensive Index to the EGW Writings.

(35) White Letter 44, 1896, quoted in White 1938, p. 425.

(36) *The Present Truth*, Nov. 1850, pp. 87, 88.

(37) White 1885 (printed in 1858), p. 204, 205. At this time EGW styled pork as "nourishing food." The reprimands against the early reformers were largely caused by their idea of having "special light" to the members, when EGW made it very clear that God had "committed his work at B.C. to chosen servants."

would, of course, have been to inscribe vegetarianism among the tenets of the new sect. But this never happened. As the observant reader has noted, EGW made an official declaration in favour of the Kosher regulations already in 1864, when she stated that Jahve "never designed the swine to be eaten under any circumstances" (38). By that time, therefore, EGW had reversed her former teaching and taught that the food laws in Leviticus eleven were still in force for Christians.

This view she defended in the first place on physiological grounds. Swine's flesh was more harmful than other kinds of animal products. We read:

"Swine's flesh above all other flesh-meats, produces a bad state of blood. Those who eat freely of pork can but be diseased. ... But it is not the physical health alone which is injured by pork-eating. The mind is affected, and the fine sensibilities are blunted by the use of this gross article of food." (39).

EGW also knew why pork was so dangerous; because swine fed on "every detestable thing" and wallowed in "filth", its flesh became extremely harmful (40). Consequently this kind of meat caused "scrofula, leprosy and cancerous humors" (41).

After all, it was perhaps not so very remarkable then, if the Whites changed their view as to swine's flesh. They already kept the Sabbath and followed other directions in the O.T., and regulations as to dress (42). With this view of the O.T. as a normative inspired collection of books in many fields, why should not the food regulations also be valid? At the same time we must make it very clear that other portions in O.T. were definitely rejected, such things as circumcision and of course the whole ceremonial system. Those parts were interpreted in a christological sense, in harmony with the Christian tradition from the time of the Early Church. It is certainly puzzling, then, how the Whites overlooked certain texts in N.T. where meat is recommended. Paul wrote to the Christians at Corinth that they could eat everything sold in the "shambles" (43).

(38) White 1864, p. 124.

(39) White 1865, pp. 58, 59. Italics added.

(40) *Ibm*

(41) White 1864, p. 164. To my knowledge this idea has not yet been substantiated by scientists.

(42) White 1885, pp. 459, 460. EGW accused Miss Austin, M.D. of violating God's command in Deut. 22:5 that a woman should not "wear that which pertaineth unto a man, ..."

(43) 1 Cor. 10:25. This Old English expression, of Latin origin, is a correct translation of the original word in Greek, also of Latin origin, for a place where all sorts of meat were sold.

As one could imagine, this duplicity as to diet, with strict vegetarians on the one side and moderate meat-eaters on the other side, was destined to cause internal tension. In fact, it did; and EGW foresaw this in a "testimony." In 1902, after she had once more decided to live as a consistent vegetarian, she warned the "meat-eaters." We read:

"Greater reforms should be seen among the people who claim to be looking for the soon appearing of Christ. ... There are those who ought to be awake to the danger of meat eating, who are still eating the flesh of animals, thus endangering the physical, mental, and spiritual health. Many who are now only half converted on the question of meat eating will go from God's people to walk no more with them." (44)

To EGW health reform had become an important element in religion, and not just an option in matters of food. Perfect Christians were expected to be vegetarians; in ministers this was almost compulsory, for the churches could not have "only half converted" leaders (45).

EGW was certainly an energetic promoter of health reform. She has written books on this subject and several parts in her nine volume Testimonies are devoted to health reform and sanitarium work (46). But also in private? letters the prophetess instructed negligent Adventist families to take up the cross of health reform. She did so out of a deep concern for their physical and spiritual health. According to her the cause of spiritual misery was often to be found in the quality of the food people partook of.

Despite all propaganda, and the endless stream of visionary instruction, however, some Adventists showed no signs of changing their staple food. In such cases the prophet felt obliged to send out private communications, directly to the families. In one early characteristic case she declared:

"The brutish part of your nature governs the spiritual. Those who process to be fitting for translation should not become butchers.

Your family have partaken largely of flesh-meats, and the animal propensities have been strengthened, while the

the intellectual have been weakened. We are composed of what we eat, ... You have repeatedly said in defense of meat-eating, "However injurious it may be to others, it does not injure me, for I have used it all my life". But you know not how well you might have been, if you had abstained from the use of flesh-meats." (47)

Then EGW went on to point out how this brother was over-weight, because of his meat consumption (48). The husband or father also set a bad example for his children by his unrestricted animal diet. She went on:

"You have set for the children a table of unwholesome food, cooked in an unhealthful manner. You have placed flesh-meats before them, and what is the result? Are they refined, intellectual, obedient, conscientious, and religiously inclined? You know this is not the case, ... Your table has completed the work of making them what they are. ... Your eldest son especially is corrupt, partaking to a great degree of the animal. Scarcely a trace of the divine can be seen in his organization. ... Correct your table. A depraved, stimulating diet is strengthening the animal passions of your children." (49)

In the same testimony the mother was earnestly recommended to give up her meat- and pork-eating.

"Sister H. is a woman whose blood is corrupt. Her system is full of scrofulous humors from the eating of flesh-meats. The use of swine's flesh in your family has imparted a bad quality of blood. Sister H. needs to confine herself strictly to a diet of grains, fruits, and vegetables, cooked without flesh or grease of any kind... It is impossible for those who make free use of flesh-meats to have an unclouded brain and an active intellect." (50)

EGW also explained why she was so much against a meat diet; not only did it endanger the individual's health, but "excited" the "animal propensities to increased activity" (51). In contrast a well-balanced vegetarian diet resulted in calm harmonious souls (52).

EGW's comments on health were made over a long period of time from 1863 to at least 1909. During this period a real revolution occurred in the fields of nutrition and medicine. We shall examine her instruction from this angle and look for any possible changes. In the early years

(44) RH, May 27, 1902. Italics supplied.

(45) White 1900, pp.377, 378. In 1900 only a minority of the S D A ministers were vegetarians.

(46) Apart from the three early publications in 1864-1865, EGW brought out two other complete works on health in her lifetime, the foremost of those books was Ministry of Healing (541 pp.) in 1905. After her death, the Ellen G. White Estate has published three or four other EGW books in the form of compilations from her writings and manuscripts. The most important book among the selected works is Counsels on Diet and Foods (1938). In Test. vols.6 and 7 there are also whole sections devoted to health and sanitarium work.

(47) White 1885a, pp.60,61. Italics supplied.

(48) Ibid, p.61.

(49) Ibid, p.62. Emphasis added.

(50) Ibid, pp.62,63. Italics supplied

(51) Ibid, p.60.

(52) Ibid, p.66. White 1938, pp.380,381. (Orig. written in 1890.)

- Numbers asserts for "at least a decade after her June 5 vision" - (53) EGW made hardly any distinction between meat and dairy products such as eggs, butter, and cheese. They were all proscribed as harmful for the physical and spiritual welfare of man (54). With the arrival of good pasteurization, however, and additional scientific knowledge in nutrition, EGW markedly reversed her anathema of butter and eggs and even used some butter in her own diet (55). Admittedly this was a troublesome re-interpretation, and her son, Willie White, did his best to mitigate criticism as a spokesman for the aging prophetess (56). Secondly, in regard to salt, this writer has found how she apparently went along with radicals in the early years and attacked the article, as if people had better discard it altogether (57). After 1891, however, we get acquainted with another EGW, who explicitly teaches that some salt is necessary. Although she knew nothing as to "the whys and wherefores" for her new attitude (58), Ronald Numbers has been able to solve this problem by showing how the secularized "health doctor" James C. Jackson, firmly warned her not to dispense with salt altogether (59).

In 1864, at the commencement of her career as a health reformer, EGW also used the expression "cancerous humors." With advanced knowledge in the field of medicine, however, she changed her terminology and by 1900, or thereabout, she employed the expression "cancerous germs" (59a).

In her more mature health writings EGW becomes more balanced and exact in her instruction, much because of the famous Dr. Kellogg at Battle

(53) Numbers 1976, p. 163.

(54) White 1885a, pp. 362, 486. (Orig. publ. in 1870) *Ibm* 1938, p. 236, 368-370.

(55) White 1902, p. 135. By this time (ca. 1900) she reversed her teaching on b. and maintained that b. should "not be classed with flesh meat". Even eggs from healthy hens could be used she then informed her members. White Letter 37, 1901, as quoted in White 1938, pp. 202-204.

(56) "Report of a meeting of the church school board, Sanitarium, Calif., Jan. 14, 1904." WEA. Wash. D.C. This document has recently been discussed in the RH.

(57) White 1885 b, p. 19f. Then EGW declared: "The position to entirely discontinue the use of these things (milk, sugar, and salt) may be right in its order; but the time had not come to take a general stand upon these points."

(58) EGW Letter 37, 1901, quoted in White 1938, p. 344.

(59) Numbers 1976, p. 165.

(59a) White 1905, p. 313. The health reformers linked c. to meat consumption. Cf. Coles 1850, pp. 58-61. This assumption seems to gain ground among some modern scientists. Cf. *Scientific American* Nov. 1975, pp. 64-74.

Creek (59b). Such modifications come in no way as a surprise to historians, but they are nevertheless significant.

EGW's teaching with special reference to *Counsels on Diet and Foods*, have recently been examined by a Swedish nutritionist of international repute, Professor Gunnar Blix. He mentions, how medical science was emerging rapidly about the middle of the last century, and how it made quick progress with the acceptance of the exact sciences. Pasteur's discoveries, the birth of bacteriology and Virchow's cellular pathology had an enormous importance for this development. The value of preventive medicine or hygiene was discovered by many doctors (59c). Dr. Blix noted how EGW had many predecessors, and mentioned for example the famous Swede, Carl von Linné. Both Linné and EGW advised moderation in the eating habits. Linné warned individuals with sedentary habits not to eat much rich food, fats or meat. He also cautioned against sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, alcohol or strong spices. Linné pointed out that the question of what is wholesome or harmful is to a large degree a matter of quantity. A hard working man in the fields, he claimed, can consume a fare that is rich in calories and fat without sustaining any harm, whereas the same food is likely to cause the sedentary man considerable trouble. Linné shared EGW's scepticism against medicine and put a great deal of confidence in a helpful diet, but he was not a vegetarian and did not see any deleterious effects of a meat diet (60).

Professor Blix commends EGW for her emphasis on the hygienic principles. In this field she expressed ideas that are still valid and generally accepted by the physicians. He sees in EGW an exponent for the avant garde empiricists (61).

Gunnar Blix also found several statements in *Counsels on Diet and Foods* which are unscientific and were so when they were written. He wonders, whether she was influenced by the ancient humoral pathology (62). And also in other respects her ideas on pathology and pathological physiology were primitive, even against the teachings in her own day. Her statements about the dangers of meat eating are outrageously "unscientific", he

(59b) In places EGW even admitted this fact. She remarked in reference to the alleged harmful effects of cheese eating:

"Upon this, Doctor Kellogg asked the price of the cheese, and bought the whole of it from them. (In order to destroy the whole lump.) He had traced the matter from cause to effect, and knew that some foods generally thought to be wholesome, were very injurious." White 40, 1893, as quoted in White 1938, p. 369. Emphasis in the original. Cf. Numbers 1976, pp. 169, 170, 176, 177.

(59c) Gunnar Blix to the writer, Apr. 14, 1973.

(60) *Ibm*

(61) *Ibm*

(62) *Ibm*. But in her later yrs. she abandoned this unscientific view.

contends. It is a grave mistake to believe that pork fills "the system with scrofula" or causes cancer even in warm countries. It is not in harmony with scientific research to claim that meat eating is the causative factor in the development of "cancers, tumors, scrofula, tuberculosis and a number of other like affections."

Gunnar Blix concluded that the "correct" points in EGW's and Linné's medical teachings can be explained without the supposition that either of them had access to a prophetic foreknowledge (63).

Dr. Clive McCay, late Professor of nutrition at Cornell University, New York, has also made some positive declarations in reference to EGW's concepts on health. McCay, who was a nutritionist, made his statements against this background, and compared her views to those of the regular doctors, as he knew them (64). In almost lyrical settings he lauded EGW:

"Among the writers of the past century, however, those who are concerned with the betterment of human health must pay tribute to the writings of Ellen G. White because she understood the importance of the selection of proper foods and the relation of the rest of the regime of living to proper nutrition and sound health. These notes have been prepared by a biochemist who specializes in nutrition in the hopes that others outside of the Adventists may gain a broader appreciation of the genius of this pioneer nutritionist, Ellen G. White. Whatever may be the religious belief of a reader, he or she cannot but gain much guidance in a better and healthier way of life from reading the major works of Ellen G. White." (65)

McCay pointed out four main paragraphs to be observed by the student of EGW's nutritional ideas: 1. Her basic ideas "about the relation between diet and health have been verified to an unusual degree by scientific advances of the past century" (66); 2. EGW is still a good guide to students of nutrition; 3. most likely a great number of sick people would have had better health, if they had "accepted the teachings of Mrs. White"; 4. her teachings about the nutritional value of a vegetarian diet may turn out to be a solution to the suffering millions in the overpopulated area (67).

McCay's analysis was interspersed with biblical references. Among other things he observed how EGW recommended the bakers to use a variety

(63) Ibm

(64) "Counsels on Diet and Foods" in the light of modern nutrition. Lecture given at the Unitarian Church, April 9, 1958. By Clive M. McCay, Ph.D. Professor of Nutrition, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. Duplicated. Quoted as McCay 1958.

(65) Ibm, p. 1 McCay never compared EGW's ideas with those of the reformers.

(66) Ibm, pp. 1, 2.

(67) Ibm, pp. 10, 11.

of grains in their bread (68). Such allusions take on special importance in view of McCay's own interest in these lines (69). Gunnar Blix and McCay represent different schools of scientific knowledge, a fact which is obvious in their evaluation of EGW.

Conclusion

1. Vegetarianism and American health reform with roots in antiquity, emerged in earnest about 1830, when a Presbyterian minister, Sylvester Graham commenced his crusade for a meatless diet in New England. Most reformers, or health prophets, considered "their" system to be original, almost inspired, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. In fact the reformers borrowed freely ideas from one another without credit.

2. In the view of modern nutritionists, most of the reformers were food faddists. They preached a one-sided "Gospel of Health" and prescribed set rules for man's diet and health. But despite such exaggerated teachings and mistakes, the health reformers must be honoured as precursors of a new day in hygiene and nutrition.

3. EGW received her notions on health mainly from this ferment.

4. In EGW health reform becomes an important instrument for the promotion of the Adventist Evangel. Inside the S D A Church it could be linked to the general holiness teachings; ideas that had been partially demonstrated by religious leaders of repute, such as John Wesley and Charles Grandison Finney. However, EGW goes further and states that eventually all victorious waiting saints must be full vegetarians.

5. Irrespective of how rigorously the scholar applies his study of the derivation of EGW's health ideas - a study which should be undertaken on strictly scientific grounds - no unprejudiced student can deny her overwhelming importance to the acceptance of "the Gospel of Health" in the Adventism. This important fact tends to be overlooked. For the what matters is not EGW's infallibility and independent position in this or in other areas, but her unique ability to influence her brethren into this direction.

(68) Ibm, p. 9.

(69) I am indebted to Dr. Richard W. Schwarz, Professor of history at Andrews Univ. Berrien Springs, Mich. for this idea.

III. "Heal the Sick." John Harvey Kellogg and the Adventist Sanitaria

After 1863, when EGW caught a vision of a new line of work, the whole movement gradually changed its ideology and structure. Alterations were made surprisingly rapidly. Already in 1864 the Whites decided to study how a famous hydropathic institution operated. Two years later the enterprising leaders had established The Western Health Reform Institute at Battle Creek, Michigan. Visions were thus transformed into reality. Patients and guests, mostly non-Adventists, began to find their way to the forlorn town in the Mid-West. The health reform ideas, which were a part of the American utopian-optimistic ferment, was to some extent present in Millerism, and the health ideas could easily be connected with the growing interest in science and biology furthered by Charles Darwin and others. With this emphasis on sanitarium work and medical treatments there emerged a novel authority in the S D A Church besides the original charismatic-supernaturalistic guidance. This confrontation was likely to create problems.

Water as a harmless but efficient means of curing diseases had been rediscovered and improved in Europe by the Austrian peasant Vincent Priessnitz (1). In the period 1830-1842 he claimed to have treated no less than 7,500 patients with good results in all cases but thirty-six. Priessnitz's success gradually impressed the upper classes, and his methods caught the attention of the regular practitioners in Austria and elsewhere (2). In a few years more than sixty books were written in Europe and America dealing with hydropathy (3). Drs. J. Shew and R. T. Trall became leading experts of the water treatments in the United States.

The Adventist spa was decided on in great haste in the autumn of 1866, after the Whites had returned from Dr. James C. Jackson's fashionable Dansville sanitorium in December 1865 (4). Again it was an EGW vision that accelerated the plans of the Adventist water cure establishment. In her December vision EGW explained the objectives of the institution. They can be summarized in three points:

1. Health reform is an important element in sanctification and the preparation for the parousia;
2. an Adventist institution would be of help to the members, who then so could preserve or regain their health without the danger of losing their Adventist persuasion, when they went to non-Adventist spas;
3. a water cure institution owned and operated by the denomination would draw patients from other churches and present an excellent opportunity for the almost unknown sect to witness for the higher classes (5).

- (1) Clark 1968 a, pp.251-253.
- (2) Show 1844, pp.3-10.
- (3) Robinson 1945, p.28.
- (4) RH, Sep.11, 1866, p.116. White 1885, pp.489-495
- (5) White 1885, pp.489-495

And the sanitaria offered many members an opportunity of enlisting in the "Lord's work" who else might have been unemployed, in consideration of the difficulties to get a job with Saturday off. The three points enumerated express the objectives of the Adventist medical work fairly well as it has operated through the years.

The establishment of the Western Health Reform Institute meant a real economical sacrifice to the small group of Sabbath keeping Adventists. A few well-off members bought shares in the institution. Thus John P. Kellogg, father of the famous doctor, purchased shares for 550 dollars. This example caused others to follow suit with smaller sums (6). Head of the sanitarium was Dr. Horatio S. Lay, who had been connected with Jackson's Dansville spa (7).

Dr. Lay was not an impressive person, nor did he have the potentials needed to make the insignificant institution a success. For ten years therefore the Western Health Reform Institution barely paid its own costs. The patients were few and the whole enterprise seemed to be a failure. Only twelve patients were registered in 1876 when a new doctor was called to the sanitarium (8). That man was John Harvey Kellogg (1852-1943), whose name is for ever encribed in Adventist medical history in gilded letters. When Kellogg took over the responsibility of the precarious water cure institution on October 1, 1876, he had just completed a thorough medical training at some of nation's best known medical schools (9). He had received ideas from opposing schools of thought, both from Trall, who was a typical faddist, and from scientifically trained professors like Georg Beard of Ann Arbor and Austin Flint Sr. and Stephan Smith of Bellevue Hospital, New York (10).

The shaky institution must have challenged young Kellogg, for with him came a new philosophy: if he at all should lead the work, it had to be done under strictly rational and scientific methods, as he styled it (11). As a sign of the novel ideas Kellogg renamed the institution as Battle Creek Sanitarium (12).

- (6) SDAE 1966, p.110.
- (7) Ibid
- (8) Wellfare Bulletin 1918, p.1. Schwarz 1964, p.175. Richard Schwarz of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich., has written the most dependable biography on Kellogg. See his unpublished Ph.D. diss. of 1964.
- (9) Lindén 1971, pp.304-306.
- (10) Ibid, p.505.
- (11) Schwarz 1964, p.175. This work has been indispensable for this section.
- (12) Ibid, p.176

And with Kellogg came success. New buildings were added to the insignificant mother establishment; the patients multiplied; at the end of the last century BCS could accept 700 patients and had a staff of nearly one thousand (13). After the additions in 1885 BCS claimed to be the largest sanitarium of its kind in the world. The patient lists at last included several of America's leading men in government, industry and finance. The ex-president William H. Taft was registered as the 100 000 patient and Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Harvey Firestone and many other notables followed (14). Hence John Harvey Kellogg had made the neglected sect known to the world, as BCS became famous for its health program even outside North America (15).

BCS served mainly the well-off people, but most of the patients were sick people (16). Kellogg had always a heart for the poor, however, and went beyond the resources to open free beds for them (17). Wealth and philanthropy went hand in hand with him.

John Harvey Kellogg had a very high esteem of his philosophy of health. The principles behind BCS was nothing less than God given ideas to heal man's diseases and help him avoid the detrimental effects of sin (18). Dr. Kellogg's health program, which reminds us of the general principles of the "health reformers", can be listed in a few points:

1. Obedience to the laws of Nature is a moral duty for everybody and is actually a necessity, if man shall preserve his mental, moral and physical health;
2. simple remedies are the best cure against diseases;
3. a total abstinence from alcohol, tea, coffee, cocoa and tobacco is much desired;
4. a simple vegetarian diet is the natural diet for man;
5. a good health is often the result of sufficient rest, exercise, and fresh air;
6. especially in ladies a poor health may be caused by unwholesome clothing (19);
7. the most important point in the whole program was the vegetarian diet. A person whose stomach was poisoned by animal food was "not a fully sane person", Kellogg averred (20). There was a direct connection between the choice of food and the character of man. Character is made up of what we eat, Kellogg declared to the Adventist leaders.

(13) Ibm, pp.184, 185.

(14) Schwarz 1964, pp.195-197.

(15) Ibm, p.197. K. at last had 200 000 patients registered at BCS.

(16) Schwarz 1964, p.197

(17) This explains why it was possible to run the institution with a great deficit in spite of the large patronage. Schwarz 1964, p.299.

(18) Schwarz 1964, p.114.

(19) Ibm

(20) GCB I, Feb.24, 1897, p.134.

8. As long as Kellogg stayed with the Adventists he contended that his health program was nothing less than the divine Truth EGW had explained in her Testimonies (21).

9. He also attacked the popular meat fare on ethical points. To kill animals to get food brutalized man and made him used to "murder and violence" (22).

10. Although Kellogg always claimed to be strictly scientific in his medical program, it is all too obvious that he, too, was a faddist in several points.

For at times, he could be so fascinated by one idea, that he became almost a food monist. During one period he thus recommended the patients to commence their meals by carefully chewing a dry Graham cracker or taking a mouth full of Granola. In the same way they were advised to round off the meals with bran (23). When yoghurt was introduced, Kellogg saw enormous possibilities in the invention (24).

Like the classical reformers at Dansville and other places, Kellogg was not satisfied with only treating the patients, but he also instructed them in regular lectures. He, or one of his colleagues, gave a lengthy lecture at the end of which a question period followed. At these sessions Kellogg was at his best and excelled more as a health agitator than a strict scientist (25).

Kellogg's "biologic living", as it was ordained for the patients, generally had the following routine program:

1. A thorough medical examination to ascertain the physical-mental condition of the patient.
2. When the diagnosis was made, a physical exercise program was meted out to suit the patient. Every sort of muscles should get its training. It meant the muscles in general, the heart, the lungs, the stomach, the skin and the inner organs.

(21) Schwarz 1964, p.114. This view K. defended before Adventist congregations; in other connections he stressed the strictly scientific foundation of his "biologic living." After the break with the denomination he made it a point to emphasize that EGW had nothing to do with his scientific ideas. Kellogg to P. T. Magan, Jan.10, 1917, the Magan Papers, LLUA, Loma Linda, California.

(22) Schwarz 1964, p.116.

(23) Deutsch 1967, pp.66,67. Wellfare Bulletin, Aug.1916. PHS, n.a. p.33.

(24) Deutsch 1967, pp.129-134.

(25) K.'s ideas were actually a mixture of a views held by a typical health reform faddist and an esteemed scientist. Cf. Schwarz 1964, passim.

3. In order to improve the general condition, gymnastic exercises from various countries were used. Apart from the Swedish exercises in the morning, brisk walks (for those able to do it), "morning jogging", cycling, lawn tennis and croquet were recommended.
4. For the disabled Kellogg had a rich variety of movement machines to help train the weak muscles.
5. In hydropathy there was likewise an abundant choice of varieties: there were warm and cold baths, packs, massage of several kinds, and many so called electric light baths.
6. By constant reading and many research trips to other countries, Kellogg improved the forms of treatment, and, besides, he himself invented several new forms (26).
7. In order to help the patients subsist on his "natural" diet, also when they were in their homes, Kellogg worked hard at the task of manufacturing both suitable dry cereal products and meat substitutes (27).

This endeavour gradually grew into enormous proportions and laid the foundation to the famous Battle Creek dry cereals, Corn Flakes and many other articles, that have spread around the world. John Harvey Kellogg invented many of these products primarily out of consideration for his patients and did not envision the economic potentials of the articles (28). His brother, Will K. Kellogg, however, was by far the better businessman of the two and founded the later multimillionaire Kellogg company. In this competition the two enterprising brothers clashed and separated (29). In spite of these desponding affairs, the Adventists and the many BCS patients got the "health food" articles they needed in the form of ready-made vegetarian products. Then there was no real excuse for not being a vegetarian, Kellogg claimed.

The greatest obstacle in the way for the new dietary regimen was the much discussed question as to the risk vegetarians suffered by getting a low protein intake. Kellogg solved this problem by introducing an extensive use of legumes. Beans of all kinds, especially soy beans, were recommended (30). Kellogg was one of the first Americans to discover the value

soy beans as a good protein source (31). When he recommended this diet, the discussion on the amount of protein needed for man was at its height. Against the majority, however, Kellogg sided with the low protein men like Professor R.H. Chittenden of Yale and H.C. Sherman of Columbia University. An over-consumption of protein meant an unnecessary strain on the human organism, he maintained (32).

The indefatigable doctor, to be sure, propagated for his "biological living" in print. During his long life he authored some fifty books, some amounting to much more than 1.000 pages; besides, he edited popular health journals. The Kellogg books sold about one million copies (33).

Kellogg's fame was not restricted to these areas. In the medical world and among many patients he became known as one of America's leading surgeon. He undertook major operations in gynecology and the stomach with great success (34). For these operations Kellogg was awarded fellowship in medical societies in several countries (35). Never the less fame, Kellogg often disliked surgery (36).

Kellogg and the Whites lived on good terms for many years. John Harvey Kellogg took an interest in health reform, already when he as a young teenager read proofs for EGW's *Health: Or How to Live* in the Adventist publishing house. Later James White sent him to Trall's school in New Jersey to get his medical training (37). Evidently the Whites saw the potentials in Kellogg and were willing to support his medical career. EGW's health teachings were essential to him, when he tried to convince the members in the S D A Church about the importance of his "biological living." EGW and Kellogg lived in cordial relations most of the time during the last century. The change in their relations became evident first when Kellogg decided to take over the ownership of the mammoth institution.

Here the question crops up as to what extent Kellogg was a representative Adventist. It is obvious that his many contacts with some of the nation's leading men gradually influenced him in some lines. For Kellogg, science and "biologic living" became an additional authority, if not the authority, besides the prophetic ministry of EGW. When Kellogg addressed

- (26) Lindén 1971, pp. 305-306. PHS n.a.
- (27) John Harvey first succeeded in making flakes of whole wheat grain; the corn flakes came later.
- (28) Carson 1957. Schwarz 1964, passim.
- (29) Ibid
- (30) Schwarz 1964, p. 280. This industry is thriving today in the SDA denomination. In Australia the Adventists run some 15 "health food" factories; the profit largely accrues to the church. SDAYB 1972.

- (31) Schwarz 1964, passim.
- (32) Ibid, pp. 122-126
- (33) Ibid, p. 231.
- (34) Lindén 1971, pp. 311-312.
- (35) Ibid. It is estimated that K. performed about 22.000 major abdominal operations. If he had charged adequate fees for these services from the sanitarium, he would have been a very wealthy man. EGW was impressed by Kellogg's skill and mentioned that she had seen in vision how angels guided Kellogg's hands, when he operated.
- (36) Lindén 1971, pp. 311-312
- (37) Ibid, p. 304.

Adventists he quoted the Bible and the EGW writings, but in his lectures to the patients he generally used other sources of information (38). This approach need not be interpreted as dishonest, considering the background of the two so different groups.

In time Kellogg came to appreciate more and more the general tenets of "mere Christianity" and was strongly impressed by efforts to relieve the sufferings of the many poor in the slum districts in America. This re-orientation towards the Gospel and its outreach in the slums, without the Adventist apocalyptic "specifics" were, of course, likely to cause strife and tension in the S. D. A. Church. Kellogg rapidly arose to eminence as a second authority alongside with EGW and the General Conference.

IV. Kellogg's Gospel Missions in Chicago

The rapid expansion at BCS after 1876, when John Harvey Kellogg became its manager, rendered him great personal esteem in the denomination. The health reform ideas had, of course, been adopted by EGW before Kellogg had completed his medical training, but it was Kellogg who made the program a success. So he could influence a large group of Adventist youth to train for different assignments in the medical institutions. With the rapid success of his Battle Creek Sanitarium Kellogg had secured a base for his social program.

One of his great ambitions in life was to open a medical-gospel mission for the untold poor in Chicago. The prospects were bright in the 90s. EGW was in Australia to open up work "down under", and the President of the General Conference, O. A. Olsen, was not looked upon as a powerful leader to control Kellogg and stop his plans (39).

At Battle Creek Kellogg had become known as a benevolent doctor. His own home housed up to forty adopted children - Kellogg had no offspring of his own - and he supported two orphanages in the town (40). Well-known philanthropists had influenced him to do much more in these lines. In New York he, moreover, studied the famous Bowery Mission, started by Jerry McAuley and Water Street (41). The great philanthropist, Dr. George D. Dowd, of New York, inspired him to take up slum work in 1891. Finally in 1892 Colonel George R. Clark, founder of

(38) Deutsch 1967, p. 61. Kellogg 1900, pp. 218-222, 247-250, 253, 254.
(39) Kellogg to EGW, Jul. 21, 1892, Nov. 20, 1895, Dec. 22, 1892. WEA, Washington D. C.

(40) Schwarz 1964, chapter VII.

(41) Ibm

Chicago's Pacific Graden Mission, inspired Kellogg to take up the work in Chicago's slum districts (42). The financial backing for the opening up of the city work Kellogg received in a providential way, when two Adventist brothers, Francis and Henry Wessels from South Africa, donated 40,000 dollars to the project (43). Kellogg also opened a branch sanitarium in Chicago and reserved the profits for the slum mission (44).

The new endeavour turned out to be a success from the beginning. Nurses and medical interns gladly spent a part of their time in this social work. The mission expanded in rented buildings and soon became well known in the city.

Kellogg and his fellow-workers carried on a many sided mission. There were the so called visiting nurses, or slum sisters, who served as helping "angels" to the destitute. Protected by their Battle Creek uniforms, the sisters operated in the amusement centers and took care of alcoholics and prostitutes (45). People in the slum areas were offered penny meals and sleeping quarters at a symbolic sum (46). Physicians, nurses, physical therapists, and medical students worked together to take care of the sick. Kellogg devoted every second Sunday for operating without charge and chatted with outcasts as a friend. He envisioned the slum work as the beginning of a new period in the Adventist Church, when men and women would be led by "his" staff (47).

A novel thing Kellogg's social work was its undenominational character (48). In his efforts to lift the unfortunates out of the mire of dissipation, doctrinal fineries about the Sabbath and the sanctuary in heaven had to wait, until the victims in the slum had regained their worth as human beings and received power to begin a new life. To this end a conventional Gospel Mission was opened under the auspices of one of Kellogg's faithful medical students, William S. Sadler, who also was a licensed minister in the denomination. Another leader in the mission work was a former alcoholic, Tom Mackey, who ran the Star of Hope Mission on West Madison Street (49).

(42) Robinson 1943, p. 234. Schwarz 1964, p. 323. It is likely that spokesmen in the Progressive Movement exerted some influence on K. Cf. Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum*, IV: 4, Autumn 1972, pp. 23-35.

(43) Schwarz 1964, chapter VII, esp. p. 325.

(44) Ibm

(45) Ibm

(46) Lindén 1971, p. 317. The cost for the meal was merely symbolic, but K. insisted on the method to preserve the dignity of the poor people.

(47) Kellogg to Thomason, M.D. Jan. 21, 1941. LLUA, Loma Linda, Calif., William S. Sadler is identical with the well-known Chicago psychiatrist.

(48) Schwarz 1964, chapter VII.

(49) Sadler interview, Sep. 7, 1967. *The Life Boat*, 1898.

These Gospel Missions operated on a "pan-Christian" basis, and could report hundreds of conversions (50). The Kellogg mission also published their own journal with weekly reports, the *Life Boat*, resembling the *War Cry*. At its peak it numbered more than two hundred thousand copies. Sadler served as editor (51).

The social work in Chicago, sponsored by individual SDA members with John Harvey Kellogg as the brain behind it, is said to have been the most extensive privately run social work in the world (52). Only in the first three years in Chicago, the leaders estimated that approximately 38 000 free baths had been given as well as 26 000 other treatments. The slum sisters had made 9 000 visits in the homes and approximately 75 000 "penny meals" had been served (53). In a four year period Kellogg could report that more than 200 000 people had used the free laundry and 75 000 had received clothes (54).

The Adventist success in Chicago spread to other big cities in America (55). The money for the expensive work came from several quarters. Businessmen in Chicago donated considerable sums; the sale of journals like the *Life Boat* gave some surplus and the Adventists donated, somewhat less than ten per cent of the whole cost in 1901 (56).

EGW was in principle not against social work for poor people who deserved help. For several reasons, however, she felt that she could not condone the large scale Gospel mission in Chicago. In the first place she was away from the scene and could not get a correct view of the mission. Secondly, she felt that too much money was being spent in the work, money that should be sent to Australia. Thirdly, the Salvation Army in the first place had the responsibility for the outcasts and qualified for this work, with their general Christian message. Fourthly, the expanding Adventist social work in Chicago may be good in its place, if it did not expand beyond reasonable boundaries, but it was more or less useless in one aspect, from a denominational point of view, considering the few paupers who became members in the S D A Church (57).

(50) *Ibm*

(51) *The Life Boat* 1898. Sadler interview, Sep. 7, 1967.

(52) *Ibm*

(53) Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum*, Spring 1968, p. 20, 21.

(54) *Ibm*

(55) *Ibm*, p. 24.

(56) Schwarz 1964, p. 336.

(57) For full documentation, see numerous letters to Kellogg in WEA, Washington D.C. The expression sounds harsh today, and was no doubt influenced by denominational policy to send as much help as possible to the Australian mission.

After 1897 the "Era of Good Feelings" between Kellogg and EGW had therefore come to a definite end. Dark clouds gathered over Battle Creek and were destined to cause a real thunder storm. The scene was set for the most serious conflict within the SDA Church.

V. The Conflict Between Kellogg and the General Conference

John Harvey Kellogg's many talents as physician and director of the medical work had in a few years made Adventism known and respected. At the same time his successful medical work meant a real problem to the growing movement, because from BCS new ideas pervaded the denomination. If Kellogg's tolerant, unsectarian, and undefined religion spread into the rank and file of the SDA Church, it would cause nothing less than a revolutionary change in the old biblicistic-evangelical structure. Some leaders were aware of the situation. Against Kellogg's "pan-Christian" line stood foremost EGW and some of the leaders in the central organization.

There was a syndrom of causes that led to a more or less continuous friction between Kellogg and the Church leaders. An important factor of strife was Kellogg's unique experience and intellectual development. While the average Adventist fed his soul mainly on the Bible and the expositions of EGW and the Adventist sermons, Kellogg went far beyond that limit and eagerly tapped other sources of knowledge. He was somewhat sophisticated and took part in the current debate in cultural and political subjects and he was probably influenced by American progressives (58). As a physician he was fascinated by the working of the human organism. It is happened that he could converse with intellectuals. He represented an esoteric form of religion, where a vitalistic philosophy, reminding us somewhat of Bergson's ideas, became one element in his philosophy (59). With great thrill and emotion the doctor talked about the body as a temple for the Divine Spirit and quoted St. Paul's famous speech in Acta XVII. He even maintained that EGW endorsed his views (60).

A controversial compendium of his medical-philosophical-theological ideas appeared in 1903 in the *Living Temple*. Here Kellogg contends that the innumerable varieties of life in the universe is in fact "one common Life" (61). "The manifestations of life are as varied as the different individual animals and plants, and parts of animated things. Every leaf,

(58) Cf. Lindén 1971, pp. 318-332.

(59) For a summary of Bergson's views, cf. *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. I, 1967, p. 2897.

(60) Prescott articles in the RH 1890-1902. White 1890, p. 114. *Ibm*. 1903, p. 99.

(61) Kellogg 1903, p. 15.

every blade of grass, every flower, every bird, even every insect, as well as every beast or every tree, bears witness to the infinite versatility and inexhaustible resources of one all-pervading, all-creating, all-sustaining Life", he remarked (62). In all creation Kellogg had discovered a great Intelligence, that was visible in the instincts of the animals and the complicated botanical variations of life. The same inexplicable Intelligence the doctor had observed in matter and its many variations (63).

Denominational writers have often described Kellogg's philosophy as pantheistic and, therefore, heretical (64). However that may be, Kellogg was not a consistent pantheist; his "pantheism" can, therefore, better be explained in other terms. His great admiration for the all-powerful energy pervading the universe caused him to behold the Creator in nature. But Kellogg had also plenty of room for the orthodox conception of a personal God, and he had a real passion for Jesus Christ as the great Healer of mankind. We read: "An infinite, divine, personal being is essential religion. Worship requires some one to love, to obey, to trust. Belief in a personal God is the very core of the Christian religion. The conception of God as the All-Energy, the infinite Power, an all-pervading Presence, is too vast for the human mind to grasp; ... It is for this reason that Christ came to us in the image of God's personality, the second Adam, to shew us by his life of love and self-sacrifice the character and the personality of God. We can approach God only through Christ" (65). As a scientist Kellogg had known Nature in its unfathomable miracles; as a humble Bible Christian on the other hand, he had preserved the idea of God, as he is revealed in Jesus Christ. There are no proofs that Kellogg ever lost sight of the idea of a personal God (66).

From a denominational point of view, however, it is easy to prove that Kellogg was no orthodox Adventist. Apart from the common theological ideas, Kellogg evidently shared only two doctrinal points with the Adventists: the

(62) *Ibm*, p. 16.

(63) *Ibm*, pp. 23, 24.

(64) cf. Froom 1971, pp. 349-356

(65) Kellogg 1903, pp. 29, 30f.

(66) There are unmistakable evidences to show that K. preserved his belief in Jesus Christ as a real "persona" in the Godhead. The Fourth Gospel was his favorite reading and also for example EGW's classic commentary on the "Life" of Jesus, the *Desire of Ages*. Cf. Alonzo L. Baker in *Spectrum* IV:4, Autumn 1972, p. 45. Mrs. Gertrude M. Brown, M.D. who worked with K. in Battle Creek, reports how impressed she became, when the old doctor took her round in the rebuilt "san" and commented on a "beautiful coloured glass window", which depicted Christ with outstretched hands, healing the people. Dr. Brown remarked: "The old doctor stretched out his hands to the large building, right and left, and said, 'Now go and teach my patients that He is their life, their great Healer.'" Brown n.d. p. 90

Sabbath and the health message, or "biologic living", as he preferred to call it. His philosophy of health took on such dimensions that it became almost the sum total of religion to him (67). His health ideas bridged the passage between his Adventism and his evolutionary-optimistic vitalism, evident in his great interest in the Race Betterment Foundation (68). Thus there were contrasting elements in his system of thinking.

Kellogg's view of a divine revelation in nature was shared by other Adventist leaders, such as W.W. Prescott in the 1890s; and there were isolated expressions even in the EGW books which could perhaps be interpreted as supporting Kellogg's philosophy. In one of her leading works she states:

"Nature testifies of an intelligence, a prescence, an active energy, that works in and through her laws. There is in nature the continual working of her Father and the Son. Christ says, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work'." (69)

In the same year Kellogg brought out his *Living Temple*, EGW penned these words:

"Upon all created things is seen the impress of the Deity. Nature testified of God. The susceptible mind, brought in contact with the miracle and mystery of the universe, can not but recognize the working of infinite power. ... A mysterious life pervades all nature, - a life that sustains the unnumbered worlds throughout immensity; that lives in the insect atom which floats in the summer breeze; that wings the flight of the swallow, and feeds the young ravens which cry; that brings the bud to blossom, and the flower to fruit." (70)

Knowing how many of his Adventist friends had expressed ideas that were akin to his vitalistic philosophy, and expressed even in some EGW utterances, as he interpreted them, Kellogg found it strange, indeed, when he was being attacked for "pantheistic" views. For many years Kellogg had met no critical remark on account of his unorthodox theology. But then suddenly he was criticized for example for not keeping the Sabbath (71). Kellogg was extremely busy also on the seventh day, he maintained, and could not leave his many sick patients alone. But in the sanitarium he acted in harmony with the beliefs of the denomination, also in his relations to the staff. He

(67) Lindén 1971, pp. 306-313

(68) Kellogg was president of this Battle Creek branch.

(69) White 1890, p. 114.

(70) White 1903, p. 99. Italics added.

(71) Minutes of Adjourned Business Meetings of the SDA Church, Held in the Tabernacle, Nov. 10, 1907.

gave the helpers an orthodox Adventist education and sometimes would read for hours from the Testimonies, when he found suitable passages (72). There are no conclusive proofs, therefore, that Kellogg wanted to force his sophisticated views on the ordinary church member. His main concern was, of course, to get a qualified Adventist personnel, and he well knew that it would be unwise to prejudice the constituency by teaching ideas that were likely to be interpreted as non-Adventist. In his home he had daily worship hours with his large family, and he was eager to introduce the general principles of the Christian religion to his patients. There were pastors and chaplains to care for that side of the sanitarium work (73).

But there were other things that harmed the relations between him and the Adventist clergy. Since very few of the ministers had any theoretical training to speak of, there was a great temptation from the side of the doctor to look over the shoulders of the preachers and consider them to be ignorant. Still worse was their attitude to his all important "gospel": the health ideas. Many ministers were meat eaters and despised his energetic efforts to make the Adventists strict vegetarians. This position among the ministers was a real problem to Kellogg and caused endless strife between the parties. Only a minority of the pastors, who were practicing vegetarians, had any standing with Kellogg (74). This attitude tempted Kellogg to utterly reject the proposals of having meat eating ministers lead "his" medical work. Medicine was his special field and no clergyman was allowed to trespass on his competency, where they were incompetent laymen (75).

The conflict between Kellogg, the denomination leaders and EGW had been smoldering for decades, but did not burst into open flame, until the EGW stayed on in Australia with all the disadvantages that meant for her to pay attention to this difficult affair. Perhaps she even went into "exile" on her own free will to get away from the troubles in America, until she had the means and ways to cope with the situation? It is, indeed, difficult to account for the fact that she preferred to remain in distant Australia for nine long years, when life and death matters were developing at home for the denomination.

Psychiatrist Dr. William S. Sadler, who was a keen observer of the relations between Kellogg and EGW, is of the opinion that the beginning of the definite break between the two major leaders in the health work happened,

- (72) Schwarz 1964, pp. 360-363.
- (73) EGW instructed the personnel to avoid disturbing the patients by emphasizing points of doctrine that were controversial to other Christians.
- (74) Lindén 1971, pp. 320, 321. It was, indeed, surprising that even leading ministers, such as Daniells, could be so careless about practising vegetarianism, when the whole issue had to do with the health ideas in the denomination.
- (75) Schwarz 1964, pp. 349-353. *Ibm* in *Spectrum*, IV: 4 Autumn 1972, pp. 26, 27.

when EGW wrongly accused Kellogg of having established "a large and expensive building" for the Chicago Mission (76). According to Kellogg he had suffered much on account of EGW's incorrect testimony about the large buildings in Chicago. Kellogg contended that the vision was based on a newsman's report (76a). When EGW found that no such buildings existed in Chicago, she changed her attitude and remarked that her "testimony" had nevertheless served its purpose, since the vision had prevented Kellogg from establishing a medical school in Chicago (77). Both Kellogg and EGW were outspoken, powerful personalities and neither felt like humbling himself in this controversy (78).

Another major issue of strife between the two leaders referred to a communication EGW sent to Kellogg about the sanitarium work at Battle Creek after the devastating fire in the sanitarium in February 1902. She did not criticize Kellogg's decision until four months later, when the builders had reached the fourth floor (79). Kellogg asked indignantly what use he had of such a late "testimony." He had, moreover, the decision of the top leaders to fall back upon in this case, he maintained (80).

And there were other causes for the tension between Kellogg and EGW. EGW had a poor understanding of the legal aspects of the charter that regulated the economical operations of the sanitarium in Battle Creek. According to the legal text no money could be sent from the funds of the sanitarium outside the State of Michigan (81). Since EGW did not know this regulation, she kept sending letters to Kellogg imploring him to send some of the sanitarium funds for the new field "down under" (82). Kellogg was also irritated, when private letters sent to him from EGW were duplicated and dispatched to several leaders (83).

From his first year at the humble institution, he had led a series of extensions and improvements at BCS (84). Kellogg also added medical training

- (76) Sadler interview, September 7, 1967. Cf. Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum* IV: 4 Autumn 1972, pp. 33, 34.
- (76a) Kellogg Interview 1907, pp. 43-45. Duplicated.
- (77) White to Kellogg, Oct. 28, 1903. WEA. Wash. D.C.
- (78) Sadler Interview, Sep. 7, 1967. This statement is supported by an enormous deal of material.
- (79) Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum* IV: 4 Autumn 1972, pp. 34, 35.
- (80) *Ibm*
- (81) Leffler Interview, August 7, 1967. Author's collection. L. served as Kellogg's assistant in the educational work for many years immediately after his break with the SDA Church in 1907.
- (82) Cf. Lindén 1971, pp. 306-332.
- (83) Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum* IV: 4 Autumn 1972, pp. 32.
- (84) Lindén 1971, *passim*.

schools to the sanitarium. First he trained nurses, physical therapists and various kinds of "helpers", later he laid the foundation to a medical college, which used the sanitarium for its clinical instruction. This branch was called the American Medical Missionary College. During its short period of existence, from 1895-1910, it conferred 194 doctor of medicine degrees to its students. The medical college had to operate on a two campus plan, since the facilities at BCS were inadequate (85). With a closer co-operation with the General Conference this ambitious program might have stood a better chance of succeeding, but Kellogg's independent way of leading the medical work made such ideas unrealistic.

Up to 1903 a separate board led by Kellogg controlled and sent out all medical personnel to fields inside and outside the United States. The board was organized in 1893 as the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. In 1896, when "workers" were sent to several countries abroad, the association changed its name to the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association (86). At this juncture the denominational name for the institution was dropped by Kellogg.

In 1897 changes happened within the sanitarium that were ominous for the S D A Church leaders. When the old charter in the Western Health Reform Institute from 1867 expired, Kellogg reorganized that charter in a radical way. A new body, the Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolent Association, then took over the whole institution and also took over the debts of the sanitarium. The constituency of M.S.B.A. was greatly enlarged from the 150 original stockholders to 650. Whereas only members of the Church could qualify as stockholders according to the old charter, non-Adventists were now eligible in the new charter. It was also stated in the new charter that only members present in person at the annual business meeting had a right to vote. This stipulation made it very difficult for members living far away from Battle Creek to attend the meetings. Kellogg also saw to it that the association had a right to drop members from the lists, when he considered them to be out of harmony with the objectives or principles of the association. This possibility Kellogg was to make use of after the S D A Church expelled him in 1907 (87). Such one sided changes were, of course, very offensive to the denominational leaders.

In the declaration of principles for M.S.B.A. Kellogg and the members of the board subscribed to a paragraph which said that M.S.B.A. worked on "an undenominational, unsectarian, humanitarian and philanthropic" basis (88). Again, denominational leaders expressed concern, as it went directly against the objectives of the original founders of the sanita-

rium. Kellogg defended the unsectarian character of the institution by pointing out that "as a hospital, it must be carried on as an undenominational institution" and not benefit one class particularly, such as the S D A Church (89). Somewhat later Kellogg told a newspaper reporter that the sanitarium had "no connection with the Seventh-day Adventist denomination as such; "membership in the M.S.B.A. association was open" to a Catholic as well as to a Seventh-day Adventist (90).

It is impossible to discern all scheming or plotting by Kellogg in these decisions (91). The establishment of Kellogg's medical school naturally motivated the non-sectarian platform, especially when the board applied for State recognition. So far, there were no serious conflicts. But there were other aspects in the new charter which caused concern in the General Conference, not least the possibility of the doctor now having a legal right, if not a moral sanction, for making the mammoth institution his private concern (92).

By degrees Kellogg had created a dichotomy in the Adventist organization. There were for a time two boards that administered the missionary work, both in America and abroad. In fact, Kellogg's department employed more "workers" than the whole General Conference (93), and he was not willing to give up control over "his" branch to the "ignorant" ministers.

Not surprisingly Church leaders were concerned and sensed the threat the new charter meant to the denomination. Already in 1894, before the new order had been enforced, O.A. Olsen, the President of the General Conference, went to Australia to discuss the Kellogg problem with EGW and some top leaders (94). It was significant for the future that a young pastor by the name of A.G. Daniells took part in those talks (95). Later George A. Irwin, Olsen's successor, tried to centralize all departments in one re-organized General Conference, but without success (96).

The situation changed radically after EGW had returned from Australia with some new men who seemed to have the qualifications to take up the Kellogg problems. The key figure in these efforts was Elder A.G. Daniells. Most leaders fully understood that a radical change had to be made in the top organization, when Adventism had crossed new frontiers in the mission fields (97). The initial organization of 1863 was only intended for the United States. For the sake of the established work in new lands Unions were estab-

(89) Lindén 1971, pp. 323, 324.

(90) Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum*, IV: 4 Autumn 1972, p. 28.

(91) For details consult Schwarz 1964, *passim*.

(92) Lindén 1971, pp. 321-332.

(93) GCB Apr. 10, 1901, p. 178. But it is most misleading to compare K's department and the General Conference by counting the number of employees. In K's 2000 group perhaps 1500 consisted of simple "helpers"

(94) Olson 1966, p. 171.

(95) *Ibm* 96) *Ibm*

(97) Growing missions had been established on all continents by 1900.

(85) *Ibm*. SDAE 1966, pp. 110-113.

(86) *Ibm*

(87) Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum*, IV: 4 Autumn 1972, p. 27.

(88) *Ibm*

lished with considerable local authority. A number of Unions later formed a Division, which is a department within the General Conference (98). There are some facts to note in this connection. In the first place James White's idea of one central organization had been retained also in the reorganized system of 1901. Ordained ministers, mainly of American origin, made the decisions of the growing body. The lay people had no real influence on the policies in their church. However, in rare occasions non-American leaders could reach the very top, as was the case, when O. A. Olsen, a native of Norway, served as President of the General Conference. True, this type of organization hardly gave the lay people any real influence, but it guaranteed uniformity and strengthened the movement. (99). From a sociological point of view this kind of leadership is usually found in established sects or denominations.

The new leader of the General Conference, A. G. Daniells, wisely began his dealings with Kellogg in a cautious way. However, Daniells knew his responsibility, to curb the medical men, and stop the development of an autonomous medical department. Besides, Daniells had preserved good relations with EGW, all since his term in Australia. A member in the G. C. board remarked: "Elder Daniells, with his implicit trust in the messages of the Spirit of prophecy and his recent experience in leading in the organization of the work in Australia, was the man of the hour" (1).

At the deliberations in 1901, when the new organization was effected, Kellogg also held a strong position within the movement. It has been claimed that he perhaps experienced the summit of his power in the Church at that time (2). Kellogg then persuaded the president of the General Conference, George A. Irwin, to give the medical department an extra large representation, which also happened. Kellogg was, moreover, elected a member of both the General Conference Executive Committee and the Board of Foreign Missions. And besides, he was still chairman of the old I. M. M. B. A (3). It is also a well-known fact that the former title of the leader of the General Conference, "president" was temporarily suspended in Daniells' case. This device, however, seems to have been prompted on diplomatic grounds.

Daniells and Kellogg managed to get along fairly well for about eighteen months. Then the fundamental differences and Daniells' real policies came into the open. The excuse for decisive actions against Kellogg was Daniells'

(98) Crisler 1938. Christian 1947. SDAE 1966, pp. 928-941

(99) It is therefore possible to speak of the SDA movement as one of the rare world churches.

(1) Olson 1966, p. 188. Italics supplied.

(2) Richard Schwarz in *Spectrum* IV: 4 Autumn 1972, p. 28.

(3) *Ibm*, pp. 28, 29.

(4) This happened after the General Conference in Oakland in 1903.

policy to prevent Kellogg from buying an additional sanitarium on borrowed money in Europe (5). When Kellogg was defeated in these plans, the cleavage between the two top leaders became permanent.

In the years 1902-1903 relations between the medical and the ministerial departments deteriorated still more. There were at least three components that determined this development:

1. The decision of the indomitable doctor to rebuild the BCS in a more impressive way than before the fire;
2. Kellogg's book, the *Living Temple*, which some church leaders considered as "pantheistic" work;
3. the resolutions by the General Conference at Oakland in 1903 to incorporate the medical departments more directly under denominational control (6).

The Oakland Conference turned out to be a great triumph for Elder Daniells, who mustered a massive support from the side of the clergy, who also were in the majority camp in the boards and committees (7). But it is one thing to make a resolution and a much different thing to execute the decisions. The Kellogg men still held a firm hand over the medical work, and they were not at all interested in changing the status of the BCS and its affiliations to let non-medical men control their department.

The tension between the Kellogg and the Daniells parties perhaps marks the darkest period in the whole history of the S D A Church, with the exception of the initial shut door years and its aftermath. In retrospect, the historian detects a whole bundle of causes that belong to the Kellogg controversy. Denominational writers often tend to give a priority to Kellogg's so called "pantheistic" ideas, but, as we have noted, these allusions were certainly not the real ground for the bitter struggles. There were also personality clashes, not least between Kellogg and Daniells. But first and last, the Kellogg crisis had to do with denominational policies and conflicts between two forms of structures. Who should lead the affairs of the denomination, the General Conference or Kellogg's department, or both?

Daniells certainly knew what he had to achieve, and fought the Kellogg "rebels" with a dogged determination. He felt called to do one thing above all: to crush the resistance from Kellogg's side or else to give up his job (8).

(5) Lindén 1971, p. 327.

(6) *Ibm*

(7) GCB 1903.

(8) Lindén 1971, pp. 329, 330.

After the Oakland Conference we can detect only one serious attempt to reconcile the parties. In the peaceful retreat of rural Berrien Springs in Michigan an important rendezvous between Kellogg and the denominational leaders took place in the spring of 1904. Before that conference EGW sent conciliatory letters to both sides with the intent of pacifying the strident wills and achieve union (9). EGW's communications to Kellogg after 1903 were mainly of a critical kind. While the prophet declared him to have been "a converted man" after the session in Minneapolis in 1888, she later pointed out that had he had lost this spiritual experience and no longer was a converted Christian (10).

Against EGW's expressed will the Daniells group attacked Kellogg at Berrien Springs severely for his "pantheistic" ideas. An incident which shows how inflamed the situation was can be seen in William C. White's reluctance to deliver a message from EGW on time (11). This negligence may have influenced the development of the discussions so it turned out to be a failure, so far as a reconciliation was concerned. The vice president of the General Conference, W.W. Prescott, who spoke on behalf of the Daniells' group, attacked Kellogg, evidently rather freely, for his pantheistic views in the Living Temple (12). This caused one of Kellogg's men, the talented debater, Pastor A.T. Jones, to launch a counter attack on Prescott (13). The denomination split into two parties, and in the middle stood the helpless EGW.

After Berrien Springs EGW evidently realized that Kellogg was lost for the denomination, as long as he held on to his policy of independence. She then stated that Kellogg was "half mesmerized" and dominated by a

- (9) Ibm, p. 328.
- (10) White to Kellogg, Jul. 29, 1904, Dec. 22, 1904. White to Brethren Paulson, Sadler, and Waggoner, Aug. 1, 1904. Ibm. to Prescott and Daniells, Dec. 16, 1905. WEA, Wash. D.C.
- (11) Schwarz 1964, p. 401. Incidents like these made K. most suspicious against EGW's "divinely" appointed hand secretary. In a letter to EGW he complained
"that if the Testimonies which the Lord sends us must be filtered through a committee, or filtered through W.C.W. (Will C. White)... then their authority to me, and their authority with the majority of Seventh-day Adventists, at least with the intelligent class, must cease to be any greater than that of counsel or advice from any good Christian person."
Kellogg to EGW, Oct. 1, 1895. Italics supplied. WEA, Wash. D.C.
- (12) Butler and Haskell to Kellogg May 27, 1904. Kellogg papers. MSU, Lansing, Mich.
- (13) Ibm

satanic influence (14). William C. White had also felt this sinister power, when he was "hypnotized" by the doctor (15). At times the prophet went very far in her criticism of Kellogg and alluded to "free love" at the sanitarium, as a result of Kellogg's "pantheistic" or even "spiritualistic" teachings (16); but there are, to be sure, strong evidence to show that Kellogg was a conservative Victorian in his morals, and even lived in a kind of Platonic matrimony (17).

At almost every camp-meeting or Conference session the Kellogg men were up for criticism. The sanitarium had become a cancerous tumour from which all sorts of unclean tissues emanated. Therefore, Daniells fought a relentless "war" on the "apostate" doctor (18). EGW's new Testimonies served him well in this campaign. He even visited the Adventist meetings and in public or in private talks went against Kellogg (19). On several occasions Daniells addressed the personnel at BCS and defined the policy of the General Conference (20). It goes without saying that this gigantic internal struggle severely affected the evangelistic work in the denomination. Especially at Battle Creek, the headquarters of the Adventist Church, the members divided into two groups, either for or against Kellogg (21).

- (14) White to Prescott and Daniells, Dec. 16, 1904. Ibm. to Butler, Daniells, and Irwin Apr. 27, 1904. Ibm. to Daniells and Prescott Oct. 30, 1905. WEA, Wash. D.C.
- (15) Kellogg 1915. Brown n.a. p. 94. It is only natural if any intellectually inferior man should have felt "hypnotized" by the doctor. Cf. Murdoch Interview, July 23, 1967. Schwarz has shown that K. was definitely against hypnotism. Schwarz 1964, p. 148.
- (16) White 1958a, pp. 25, 26. The accusation by EGW that the Living Temple taught "free love doctrines" K. judged as libellous. Kellogg Interview 1907, p. 95.
- (17) Kellogg 1879, 1885.
- (18) Lindén 1971, pp. 328-331.
- (19) Daniells to W.C. White, Aug. 9, 1903. Ibm. to W.C. White Oct. 11, 1905. On occasions D. could be sentimental.
"When I look at these clean-faced, bright-eyed intelligent young men and women, ... who are as clean and pure as the rose, and think of their going to Battle Creek where they will see and hear and experience all kinds of evil that they are now strangers to, it seems as though I can not permit them to go."
Daniells to W.C. White, Aug. 9, 1903. Italics supplied. WEA, Wash. D.C.
- (20) Daniells to "Dear Friends", Dec. 17, 1905. WEA, Wash. D.C. Ibm. to W.C. White, April 2, 1906. WEA, Wash. D.C.
- (21) Daniells to W.C. White, Aug. 14, 1906. Ibm. to W.W. Prescott Oct. 10, 1906. WEA, Wash. D.C. D. wrote: "326 are for the General Conference in the town, 203 are against and 160 are doubtful."

After the unfortunate meeting at Berrien Springs, the pro-denominational men found a great help in EGW's letters or Testimonies, which Kellogg rejected, or at least neglected (22). Occasionally Kellogg suspected that the letters had been "filtered" through the hands of Willie White, his rival from the early days (23). To add force to the argument Kellogg maintained that he followed the old principle in his interpretation of the Testimonies; for James White had instructed him to exclude personal letters from the inspired material (24). In this way most of the criticism against Kellogg could be disregarded.

This reasoning did not make any impression on Daniells. A skillful administrator and policy maker, he armed himself with fresh messages from the prophetess (25). The campaign went on, until the Kellogg group was singled out and then excluded from the Adventist fellowship.

On November 10, 1907 John Harvey Kellogg and perhaps more than a hundred of his sympathizers were excommunicated from the Adventist fellowship (26). Daniells in person certainly directed this major church

- (22) Daniells to EGW, Jan. 26, 1905. *Ibm.* to W.C. White Jun. 12, 1904, Oct. 11, 1905. WEA. Wash. D.C.
- (23) Kellogg to EGW, Oct. 1, 1895. WEA. Wash. D.C. Of all denominational leaders K. disliked W.C. White the most. He called him a "manipulator" and "general manager of the universe" Schwarz 1964, p. 393. Arthur L. White sees some ground for K's antagonism against W.C. White in a love affair, where Will is said to have won the affection of the girl K. also had warm feelings for.
- (24) Kellogg Interview 1907, pp. 49, 50, 69. K. remarked: "Daniells and these other men are now bringing up this testimony question and trying to bring it up to a point where James White never held it in the world. They are trying... to make it an infallible guide and to make people think that all they are doing they are doing in harmony with the infallible guide, the Spirit of Prophecy... They are endeavouring to put it into their tests of faith - I understand they are forcing that thing, and I want to tell you it is the rock on which the thing is going to split." *Ibm.*, p. 69. Emphasis supplied. Here K. interpreted the situation with a kind of prophetic insight.
- (25) Daniells to EGW Oct. 11, 1905. WEA. Wash. D.C.
- (26) Minutes of Adjourned Business Meeting of the SDA Church, Held in the Tabernacle, Nov. 10, 1907. Copy in the author's files. An examination of the Minutes shows that the leaders paid no attention to the facts that Kellogg presented in the seven-hour interview a few days prior to the excommunication. No exact figure can be given as to the number of excommunications, but Dr. E.K. Vandevere is of the opinion that about 100 men were affected by the "purgation." Author's interview with Vandevere Aug. 15,

purgation (27). The tragic part in this affair referred to the Kellogg men who also wanted to remain loyal to the S D A Church, but faced an impossible situation (28).

- 1967. Concerning the many slanderous reports about K. and misunderstanding even from the side of EGW before the excommunication of the Kellogg men, see Schwarz 1964, pp. 406, 407.
- (27) Daniells to W.C. White, May 30, 1906. Jul 26, 1907. D. wrote: "The last time I was there (in Battle Creek) my heart about failed me as I Looked over the church roll and saw hundreds of names of persons who are, without a doubt, unworthy of membership in the church. There were at least twelve hundred who should have been dropped from the list, many of whom were then in B.C. and were ready to make war upon the loyal members of the church in their endeavours to follow the instruction of the Spirit of Prophecy. ... Brother Campbell (the first pastor of the Battle Creek SDA Church) is certainly the man for the place and the hour. He should remain in B.C. to drive his stakes deeper and still deeper. ... we have decided to leave brother Campbell there for another year, if necessary." Daniells to W.C. White, Jul. 26, 1907. Italics supplied.
- (28) Dr. William S. Sadler is a typical example of the many loyal, dedicated men around K. who were driven out of fellowship with the Church at this time. No one but S. could be more anxious to uphold good relations to the denomination, and especially to EGW. Nevertheless he was mercilessly driven out into a spiritual "no man's land" for the rest of his life. Sadler to W.C. White Jan. 12, 1903. Jan. 26, 1904. Jan. 31, 1904. WEA. Wash. D.C. Sadler explained: "I have been rejoiced for the studies I have endeavoured to conduct with the Testimonies here, with the Sanitarium Family. A large number of workers have come to me and said that they have been used of the Lord to clear up many of the difficulties in their minds. ... Things that tried other people never faced me because I had a personal experience in and with the Testimonies. Next to the Lord, they have been my counsel since I was 13 years old. Up till the time "Desire of Ages" appeared, I had read and classified in my large book everything that had come from your mother's pen, that I could be secure, either in the way of published or unpublished communications. ... It was my chief subject of study for years." Sadler to W.C. White Jan. 31, 1904. S. was not uncritical of Kellogg, but wanted to see a union between the medical and evangelistic work in a truly Christian spirit, which was in line with the wishes of EGW. When Daniells forced him to speak up against Kellogg's "heresies" or lose his ministerial licence, S. refused and was lost

The most important results of the Kellogg affair can be summed up in a few points:

1. The bitter conflict between the medical and the ministerial departments was, indeed, a most complex matter. The historian is not called upon to be a judge in such matters.
2. Some theological and philosophical components certainly belonged to the struggle, but they were definitely not the primary causes of strife. In fact, Kellogg was willing to revise his offensive work, the *Living Temple* (29), if that had been the real issue.
3. The real problem related to other questions. Beyond a doubt the bitter controversy dealt with power structure and personality clashes. Who should lead the affairs of the denomination: Kellogg and his department or Daniells and the General Conference? All other questions were only of a secondary importance. The outcome strengthened the central monolithic organization.

to the Adventist cause. Cf. Schwarz in *Spectrum* IV: 4, p.31. Even the future President of Loma Linda Medical School, Percy T. Magan, who was on the same line as Sadler was "driven into virtual exile for a dozen years" because he disliked Daniells' way of handling the Kellogg problem. *Ibm*.

- (29) Photo copies of the revisions in the author's files. At least the inner circle knew of Kellogg's "liberal" ideas. It is evident that K. was not bound by any formal creed. A kind of dichotomy marked his person. As an intellectual he privately rejected some parts essential to Adventism, but at heart he probably felt attached to a simple Christ-centered religion. Dr. Thomason made the following observation: "And this leads me, dear Doctor, to say a word about your theological beliefs and teachings as you have so often discussed them with me. ... While I recognize you are most liberal in your views and would not think to force your theory upon anyone else, yet in your commanding position in the Sanitarium, your failure to be impressed with the necessity of a special Sabbath day of rest and divine worship; your disbelief in the inspiration of many parts of the Bible; your doubt as to the divinity of Christ and as to the necessity of the atonement; your conviction that by the means of eugenics and biologic living mankind can work out its own salvation ... tend to unsettle the faith of some, especially the younger and less experienced workers." Thomason to Kellogg, Mar. 1936. Copy of the original in LLUA, Magan Papers. Loma Linda, Calif. Emphasis added. But Cf. Alonzo L. Baker in *Spectrum* IV: 4, pp.36-45. Leffler Interview Jul. 14, 1967.

4. But even if Kellogg had been ousted, his spirit lived on among some doctors, who wanted to be lords in their own house, but with cordial relations to the General Conference (30).

5. In spite of Kellogg's excommunication, health reform in the S D A denomination is for all times connected with his name.

6. Because of Kellogg's dismissal, the remarkable social work within the Adventist Church was neglected for a considerable time.

7. Since EGW played an important part in the Kellogg struggle, her position as a secondary source of inspiration was strengthened; the open discussion in the rank and file as to her authority in a more limited way, in harmony with Uriah Smith's intentions, therefore, never materialized.

8. Much because of Kellogg's excommunication, the whole sanitarium idea, together with his emphasis on the natural remedies, soon had to give room for the conventional hospital model.

VI. From Battle Creek to Loma Linda

Kellogg's dismissal struck the denominational medical work like a thunderbolt, for the Doctor controlled the gigantic sanitarium at Battle Creek and turned it into his private institution after the excommunication. The education of the medical personnel also went down to a very low level, since Kellogg was in charge of the only medical school, the A.M.M.C. (31). Despite the heavy blow against the S D A Church, however, there were still a few minor establishments under denominational control, and several medical doctors remained loyal to the Church (32). The chances of reconstructing or rebuilding the medical work lay in two factors: 1. the loyal physicians that Kellogg had educated, and 2. in the support of the indomitable prophet herself.

Already before the final break with the Doctor, EGW had encouraged the leaders to establish a new medical center in California. Her interest in the sanitarium work hardly knew any limits at that time. It is, therefore,

- (30) Thomason, M.D. has well expressed this policy. He was definitely against denominational control of the medical work, to have ministers decide matters of the physicians, but he was all for the idea of having dedicated S D A personnel in the institutions and preserve a good relation with the administration. Thomason to Kellogg, Jan. 11, 1938. LLUA. Magan Papers. Loma Linda, Calif.

(31) Lindén 1971, pp.332,333. During its circa 15 year period the school graduated nearly 200 medical doctors.

(32) Lindén 1971, p.333.

very significant to notice Kellogg's own impressions at the General Conference session in 1897:

"If you look over the matter that Sister White has given us during the last twenty-five or thirty years, you will see that there is more relating to the proper care for the body than there is relating to any other one subject." (33)

Kellogg, who was a physician in charge of the growing medical work, naturally concentrated his attention toward that line. Since 1888, however, EGW also placed a greater emphasis on soteriology and even wrote important books in that vein, not to mention her numerous articles in the same field.

When Kellogg turned out to be more and more independent to the extent that the whole medical work tended to come under his direct control, EGW and the top leaders got alarmed, and the prophet then bent all her energy into the task of securing new plants for the medical work, especially in California (34). Since the Adventist Church at that time lacked the means, she felt obliged to disregard even the important no debt policy (35).

The "medical missionary work" originated with Kellogg and his A. M. M. C. Because of the cold attitude against the doctor from the side of some of the denominational administrators, this school was unable to reach its goal to become a recognized medical center. In fact, the whole project seemed to collapse. It was at that most critical period EGW received the idea about building a medical school near Los Angeles at Loma Linda. However, responsible administrators turned down the whole enterprise as a kind of mirage in the sea, in view of the meagre funds available for new investments. But the prophet was adamant. When the board would take no responsibility, she encouraged the chairman of the South Californian district, Elder J. A. Burden, to investigate the chances of securing a site for the medical center (36). In the beginning of this century there were several bankrupt hotels or health spas for sale in the California area (37). Despite the extremely low price, the Adventist Church could not afford to invest in uncertain sanitarium. But EGW did not pay any attention to such facts. In a wire to Burden she demonstrated her charismatic faith. She commanded him:

(33) General Conference Bulletin, Mar. 1, 1897.

(34) Sections two and three in White 1904 are dealing with the health work. See also EGW's "Special Testimonies" for medical workers.

(35) This prudent policy was adopted after EGW's return from Australia in 1900, when considerable debts afflicted many of the institutions. Cf. Robinson 1943, p. 287. Kellogg Apology, Dec. 1902, WEA, Washington D. C.

(36) Spalding 1962a, p. 156. The hotel "Loma Linda" had once cost 150 000 dollars.

(37) Numbers 1976, p. 187.

"Secure the property by all means, so that it can be held, and then obtain all the money you can and make sufficient payments to hold the place. Do not delay; for it is just what is needed. I think that sufficient help can be secured to carry the matter through." (38)

Without any economical backing from the side of the denomination, Burden acted on the words of the prophet and decided for the Loma Linda offer (39). Then EGW pressed the matter home on the hearts of some more wealthy members, in the manner of charismatic leaders, with the result that the whole sum, 40 000 dollars, could be paid in only six months (40).

Once the property had "been secured", the more difficult task to get the governmental recognition for the medical school remained to be solved. Here Kellogg's old school at Battle Creek became the only important asset. His young graduates, wanting to uphold the tradition from Battle Creek, stepped into the line and with "blood, sweat and tears", but not less prayerful dependence on the True Medical Missionary, the impossible thing became a reality. It so happened that the Loma Linda College of Medical Evangelists was founded in a very humble way, a short time before the demise of Kellogg's A. M. M. C (41).

For more than a decade the insignificant school, as it then was, fought an uneven struggle against formidable odds. The principal character in this period was one of Kellogg's warm sympathizers, Dr. Percy T. Magan (42), who became President of the school in 1915. The chances of getting official accreditation for Loma Linda seemed to be non-existent, as Kellogg also remarked (43). But a sort of miracle happened, for in 1922 the school received

(38) Special Test. Ser. B, p. 8. Italics supplied.

(39) Robinson 1943, p. 295. Pastor B. had to borrow on his own 1 000 dollars to secure the property.

(40) Spalding 1962a, pp. 151-153. The daughter of General Othis, a recent convert to the S. D. A. Church in Los Angeles, promised to pay 10 000 dollars for the Loma Linda project; although she could not meet that sum, her pledge helped others to invest means in the enterprise. Cf. Robinson 1943, pp. 298f.

(41) Lindén 1971, pp. 333, 334.

(42) Neff in 1964 wrote a polished biography of the famous dean.

(43) "The medical profession will not tolerate such a thing as a medical college under sectarian control and which has for its purpose the education of men to engage in sectarian propaganda. --- A medical school to meet the ideas of the medical profession must be purely scientific standing apart from theological or sectarian control or interests. I am as certain as I am alive that Loma Linda sanitarium will never get any higher recognition than it gets now."

K. based his view on a discussion with "one of the most prominent

its desired "A-rating" (44). Loma Linda University is, therefore, the only sanitarium, or hydropathic spa from the 19th century, that developed into a medical school (45).

Preserved correspondence between Kellogg and his favourite student, P. T. Magan, shows how much he admired Kellogg, also after 1907. But this friendship did not mean that Magan shared all the theological notions Kellogg expressed, or his interest in things like eugenics and "biologic living", as the principal means of Race Betterment (46). Magan was evidently of the opinion that Kellogg had been unjustly treated by some of the administrators, for example by Daniells and W. C. White (47). Magan even invited Kellogg to Loma Linda. This policy caused great concern among the top administrators, and Magan had to send a detailed report to the President of the General Conference. Church officials considered Kellogg a dangerous apostate. Some of the top leaders even demanded that the Kellogg heresies be thoroughly explained to the medical students, lest they be contaminated by his "heresies" (48). Such recommendations show how influential Kellogg was among the medical men, also after his dismissal.

and influential members of medical education". Kellogg to Magan, Feb. 9, 1916. LLUA, Magan Papers. Italics supplied here.

(44) S.D.A.E. 1966, p. 716.

(45) Numbers 1976, p. 199.

(46) See the Magan Papers at Loma Linda University, Calif. Magan was known as K's loyal friend and suffered for that. Remarked K.: "I would like to have an opportunity for a good visit with you and never cease to be grateful for the loyal stand which you and Sutherland took in defense of the sanitarium." Kellogg to Magan, Feb. 9, 1916. LLUA, Magan Papers. Magan even used notes or material that K. had prepared at Battle Creek for his lectures to the students at Loma Linda. K. admitted this on some conditions. Explained Kellogg: "I will be glad to have you make any use of it (the paper) you think best but shall appreciate it if you will give me proper credit for I am not willing people should be deceived in believing Mrs. White received all this light through supernatural sources, a notion which they have made great efforts to impress upon the minds of the Seventh-day Adventist people the whole world over." To claim this is "a fraud" K. contended. Kellogg to Magan, Jan. 10, 1917. LLUA, The Magan Papers. Italics added.

(47) Kellogg to Magan, Feb. 9, 1916. The correspondence between M. and W. C. White shows that M. did not esteem White especially. He did not want him to send special testimonies, since he had greater respect for S. N. Haskell. Here the influence of K. who detested W. C. White seems to have exerted some weight. Cf. The Magan Papers. L. L. U. A.

(48) Magan to Spicer, Apr. 6, 1928. L. L. U. A. Magan Papers.

In his interrogation of Magan, Spicer (49), President of the G. C., especially pointed to two errors in his dealing with Kellogg:

1. He had not warned the students sufficiently for the cause that led to the break with Kellogg;
2. students and workers at CME had been allowed to work for Kellogg (50).

In his relation to EGW, Magan always gave proof of a positive attitude. In the field of medical science, however, he wanted to present the great scientists as authorities. To EGW he reserved excellency in another sense, as a spiritual leader. In this attitude one notices influence of Kellogg (51). The same tendency in P. T. Magan is evident, when he wrote the foreword to an EGW book. Then he praised famous scientists like Louis Pasteur, Lord Lister, Semmelweiss, Koch, Ehrlich and several others (52); he also added an interesting paragraph on EGW, where he neglected to mention anything as to her own claims to greatness or insight in medical science. Magan wrote:

"But to Ellen G. White a different role was given. While her lifework and teaching was in harmony with truly scientific medicine, it was in the realm of the spiritual side of the healing art that she shone with a brilliance of holy luster... Others brought to light scientific facts concerning disease, its cause, and its cure; Ellen G. White drove home those facts on the spiritual side to the inmost citadel of the souls of men and women." (53)

This evaluation of EGW's contribution in the realm of medicine has certainly been altered after Magan's days at Loma Linda (53a).

Magan was a gifted diplomat the SDA Church certainly needed in the difficult years after Kellogg's dismissal. The director of the small medical school, therefore, tried hard to live on friendly terms with both Kellogg, EGW and the top administrators (54). Percy T. Magan thus endeavoured to heal the wounds from the turn of the century. The same policy can be seen in some of Magan's medical colleagues (55).

- (49) William A. Spicer served as President of the General Conference after Daniells, in 1922-1930. When this letter was composed M. had recently been appointed President of CME in which capacity he served to 1942.
- (50) Magan to Spicer Apr. 6, 1928. LLUA, Magan Papers.
- (51) Kellogg to Magan Jan. 10, 1917. LLUA, Magan Papers.
- (52) Magan in White 1923a, preface.
- (53) Ibid, Italics supplied.
- (53a) Cf. Noorbergen 1972, ch. 4. Medical Science and the Spirit of Prophet n.d.
- (54) Leff 1964, passim. Ragnar Stadin, M.D. to the author Nov. 11, 1967.
- (55) Interview with Carl Martinson, M.D. Waysata, Minn. Sep. 7, 1967. K. is a much praised figure also at the convocations at Loma Linda

Despite the loss of Battle Creek, Kellogg's spirit lived on in his disciples and the emphasis on medical work continued, let alone in new forms, which were better tailored to meet the needs of both home and mission fields. The importance of a recognized medical school can hardly be adequately assessed for the future medical and missionary outreach. Suffice it here to mention that this unusual dedication to medical work is unsurpassed among all churches, considering the membership of the SDA denomination (56). Hence Kellogg's dream as to the function of Adventists as the world's Good Samaritans has at least partially come true (57). With the never ceasing health propaganda in the denomination, the average Adventist is likely to be more health conscious than the rest of the population.

The Adventist Church has incorporated health as an integral part of the Gospel to belong to her interpretation of sanctification. A doctor and a prophet laid the foundation to this impressive work. With the renewed interest in "natural medicine" and diet reform the Kellogg sanitarium idea lives on in the world (58).

University. Statement by the medical historian Ronald Numbers, Ph.D. of Loma Linda University, Jul10, 1972. Richard Schwarz's diss. on K. and several articles in *Spectrum* have strengthened this trend to rehabilitate the doctor.

- (56) In 1971 the SDA denomination operated 140 hospitals, 165 clinics, and 20 medical launches or aeroplanes. More than half a dozen launches operate in Brazil on the Amazonas. 1.116 physicians are employed in the work and in all 28.750 employees are engaged in the world wide task. PPA 1973, p.143.

- (57) This vision Kellogg caught already in 1892, or expressed his thought in letters to EGW. He held that view to the end of his life. Cf. Kellogg to Thomason, Jan. 21, 1941. L.L.U.A. Magan Papers.

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Dr. Ingemar Lindén, born in Härnösand, north Sweden, in 1924, received his basic education in England (1953-1955) and Sweden. He holds both a Master's and a Bachelor's of Theology degree from Uppsala University (fil.mag. and teol. kand. 1962). Five years later as a "teol. lic.", or doctoral candidate he was awarded the Great Zorn scholarship for extended archival studies in the United States. In 1971 he received his Th.D. degree with "docentur" from Uppsala University. His dissertation *Biblicism, Apokalyptik, Utopi* was mainly devoted to a thorough discussion of Adventism in Sweden 1880 to about 1939. Currently Dr. Linden is deeply engrossed in research on the early years of the Jehovah's Witnesses and is planning further research tours to the US. He is also teaching at the Tibbleskolan, Täby, as instructor in Religion and is a tutor in Protestant Millenarianism at Uppsala University. Dr. Lindén is married, with three children, enjoys renaissance art and ancient history. He is fond of outdoor life, sports, and gardening.